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EDITORIAL COMMENT

Baldwin Prize Awards The committee on award of the annual Baldwin Prize, consisting of Professor O. C. Hormell of Bowdoin College, Professor George C. Kerwin of the University of Chicago, and Professor Lane W. Lancaster of Wesleyan University, has unanimously granted the first prize to Thomas Arnold McGovern of Harvard College, Class of 1929. The names, addresses, and titles of the essays of the three contestants having the highest rank are as follows:

First—Thomas Arnold McGovern, Harvard College 1929, for essay on "Extra Territorial Powers of City Planning Commissions." Address: 27 Moyston Street, Schenectady, New York.

Second—Haig Gregory Abdian, Harvard College, for essay on "Methods of Measuring the Effectiveness of Municipal Government." Address: 19 Menotomy Road, Arlington, Massachusetts.

Third—Kryn Timer, University of Michigan, for essay on "Extra Territorial Powers of City Planning Commissions." Address: Moline, Michigan.

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City Government Without General Tax Levy

The city of Pawhuska, Oklahoma, has for over two years been operating without a general

tax levy for current administration. A tax is levied on general property for retirement of bonded indebtedness as required by state law in Oklahoma; the current operating costs of the city, however, are financed largely from the revenues of municipally owned and operated utilities. The city of Pawhuska operates its own gas, water and electric light systems, a municipal hospital, and a cemetery, all of which are revenue-producing. This method of finance has not been made possible through neglect of public improvements, since the city bears the reputation of being one of the best paved small towns in the state. However, this system seems to be an indirect form of taxation, for in the long run the taxpayer pays, whether in the form of public utilities charges or through general property taxes.

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San Francisco Finally Adopts Hetch Hetchy Water Supply Project

In May the voters of San Francisco finally approved the Hetch Hetchy water supply project and the plan to purchase the Spring Valley water distribution system. This plan had been submitted to referendum on several previous occasions, but until the recent election had failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. Its final victory ended a long and bitter

controversy in San Francisco. Newspaper and popular support for the project was secured through a radical change in the plan of financing the project. According to the present plan the project will be financed largely by the pay-as-you-go method. The administration of the system is also to be taken out of local politics and will be placed in the hands of a public utilities commission.

The Hetch Hetchy project will not be completed for four or five years. Its total cost will approximate one hundred and fifty million dollars. A fuller report will be presented in a later issue of the REVIEW.

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Virginia Revises State Constitution On June 19 the voters of Virginia approved by an overwhelming majority the proposed amendments to the constitution of that state as a further step in Governor Byrd's program for reorganization of the state government. Elected two and a half years ago on a platform pledged to state reorganization, Governor Byrd has been conspicuously successful in securing popular approval of his reforms. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research surveyed the state government and submitted a report recommending radical revisions. The General Assembly of Virginia enacted laws carrying out most of the recommendations of the survey. It was found, however, that a thoroughgoing reorganization was impossible without constitutional changes.

The state legislative enactments permitted the Governor to appoint the heads of all the state's twelve departments except three—the commissioner of agriculture, the superintendent of public instruction, and the state treasurer. By the constitutional amendments ratified in June these three offices will be appointive rather than

elective until 1932, after which the General Assembly will have power to provide by law for any method of selection it may choose. The state attorney general is, however, still an elective official. The provision for a short ballot was the chief center of controversy in the campaign preceding the recent referendum.

An early issue of the REVIEW will contain an article appraising the results of the referendum more in detail.

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A Career in Public Service Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio, is making a praiseworthy effort to train college graduates for some worthwhile careers. In a recent bulletin, Arthur E. Morgan, president, has given a thought-provoking discussion of the value of a career in the public service and of the importance of careful preparation and training for it. His comments are reprinted in full below. The Editor would welcome expressions of opinion on this subject in which all our readers are interested.

"How should I as a young man seek a career as a public executive? I should avoid an elective office, for the public is uninformed and capricious, politicians often control votes, my choice of locations would be restricted by the requirement of previous legal residence, and my chief ability would have to be that of getting elected. I should, instead, seek a field where good work would create opportunity, where I could achieve recognized professional standing, and where I should be most free from arbitrary chance or political fate.

"I should not want to be simply a routine administrator, but should want a part in defining and executing public policies. If I had the native ability I should want in time to contribute to the theory and practice of government. My job should be my laboratory, as well as my day's work.

"I believe that the new profession of city manager furnishes such opportunities. Let me describe the practical steps I might take toward a career in that field.

TRAINING

"My college program, in addition to a general liberal education such as that required at Antioch for all professional preparation, would combine engineering, business, economics, and government. In my part-time work under the Antioch program I should undertake to become acquainted with the spirit and attitude of labor; I should want experience on public and private construction, and later with administrative methods in business and industry. As part of my extra-curricular activities at college I should desire some share in the college government, which at Antioch includes both students and faculty, to try my hand there at leadership and at the development of government methods.

"In my senior college year I should make a study of city managers, and should persuade one of the best to employ me, preferably as a personal assistant. There I should work, possibly changing positions to get the outlook of more than one man, until I could find or make an opportunity to become manager of a small municipality.

RESEARCH

"During my college course, and throughout my life, I should make a study of government. I should collect the charters of all cities operating under the city manager plan, and typical charters under other plans. I should analyze every one, classify the different methods by which various functions are exercised, and try to learn which methods were best in practice.

"I should study European municipal government, especially in North Europe, thoroughly acquainting myself with the more significant methods. Upon college graduation, if possible, and occasionally thereafter, I should visit Europe, first establishing acquaintances by correspondence, to study municipal government. I should try to get behind the scenes in many cities at home and abroad to see what forces actually control. At all times I should strive to live close to the realities of government and of human nature. I should study the theory of municipal government and of government in general, and, especially by reading cases and decisions, acquaint myself with municipal law.

PUBLICITY

"My program should include consistent publicity, in accord with sound ethical standards. In that publicity I should endeavor to make my best possible contribution to my chosen pro-

fession and to the theory and practice of government, and I should expect it to help provide me with opportunities commensurate with my ability. To prepare to do exceptionally good work, and then to lack opportunity, is elemental waste.

"From my college days I should work at building an ideal municipal charter. In time I should write a book on municipal government, to serve as a handbook and guide to municipal officers. I should discuss developments of municipal government in lectures and magazine articles. These would include technical contributions to my profession as well as efforts to promote popular understanding of government.

"I should perhaps present the well-managed municipality as a type of government applicable to counties and states. In my own state I might secure legislation making possible county government on the same plan.

PROGRESS

"If I were wise I should unequivocally maintain independence and integrity as my chief practical assets. I should seek opportunity to draft the charter of a small city, and to be manager under it. After perhaps five years I should move, in one or two steps, to a carefully selected city large enough to serve as a type for American municipal government, and there I should settle down to do my life work.

"I should continually search for promising young men and women as assistants and understudies. My whole organization would go to school to me, that every one might master the theory and practice of municipal government and of his own job. My whole city would go to school to me, too.

"Sometime after fifty, I might prefer to teach municipal government in a university, or be adviser to municipalities. Then, possessing independence, maturity, and experience, I should not avoid elective office as city director or commissioner.

"And sometimes I should go fishing.

APOLOGIA

"An idle dream? Yet, I have done most of these things in a comparable field. As chief engineer of reclamation, drainage, and flood-control districts, which are municipalities created for special purposes, I have found these steps practical and necessary. Serving as executive in practical charge, I have studied the water-

control laws of America and Europe, have developed approximately ideal codes, have had them enacted into law in several states, and have operated under them.

"I have found the obstacles to straightforward, effective administration not to be insurmountable. I am of the opinion from my own experience that primitive political methods can be changed, and that well-planned careers, such as I have described, can be effective."

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The Relation of Building Height to Street Traffic

The article by Professor Herbert D. Simpson in the July number on this subject stimulated the New York *Times* to editorial comment on June 11. While commending Professor Simpson for his fearlessness in entering this battleground, the *Times* predicts that he will be subject to great criticism from both proponents and opponents of the modern skyscraper. "A man of daring," says the *Times*, "is Herbert D. Simpson, Associate Professor of Economics at Northwestern University. Is there any more cruel contest than that waged between the friends and foes of the skyscraper? Yet down between the opposing hosts rides this fearless professor, seeking to impose peace by the strong arm of mathematics. 'Why so hot, my friends?' he says in effect, to Messrs. Curran, Corbett, Adams and all the other warriors who do battle over our congested streets. 'I have a simple little formula that will resolve all your disputations.' He begins his article on 'The Relation of Building Height to Street Traffic' in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW with the premise that in the 'pure type of Main Street city,' with all the business located on one street and all the traffic to and from this business traversing that one street, 'no one would be guilty of supposing that the building height could have any effect on pedestrian traffic one way or the other.'

"However that may be, the situation becomes much more complicated in the ordinary American city laid out in rectangular blocks. It is this problem that Mr. Simpson seeks to analyze. He presents a number of charts on which typical pedestrians are tracked to their lairs, and a number of equations showing that what that typical pedestrian does when he walks around the corner is not nearly so simple as he thinks. The professor comes finally to the conclusion that if a equals the amount of traffic with a given building height, b the factor of increase in building height, and x the amount of traffic with the increased building height, then x equals a multiplied by the square root of b . In other words, pedestrian traffic will vary not in proportion to the two different heights, but in proportion to their square roots. Much the same reasoning would apply to vehicular traffic. If Mr. Simpson is correct, traffic congestion resulting from a nine-story building will never be more than three times as great as traffic congestion caused by a one-story building.

"With the most pacific intentions in the world, Mr. Simpson may find himself in the proverbial position of the bystander who interferes in a dog fight. Both sides may turn and rend him. Will the defenders of the skyscraper concede that it has as much effect on congestion? Will its critics agree that the effect is not greater? Even if they accept the mathematics of the theoretical case, they may argue that as a practical matter there comes a point where the evil effects of congestion increase in geometrical progression. Mr. Simpson suggests wider streets. What if you have already stretched them to the limit? It is to be feared that he has brought to the controversy not peace but a sword."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN CONNECTICUT

BY LANE W. LANCASTER

Wesleyan University

The party is down but not quite out. Is there any hope for it?

SOME time ago the writer in the course of a conversation with a member of the Democratic State Central Committee of Connecticut asked why it was that the party remained strong in numbers when there was so little sustenance to reward its loyalty. "Well, you see, Professor," he said (he is the very prototype of the county chairman of political literature), "you know some folks are just dyed-in-the-wool Methodists; it's just the same way with Connecticut Democrats." This answer, though a platitude perhaps, is a real answer. The continued existence of the Democratic party in the state can certainly not be explained on any easy theory to the effect that men belong to parties for what they or their friends get out of it. In Connecticut, if they are Democrats they get little or nothing out of it.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY ELIMINATED FROM STATE AFFAIRS

Since 1888 the Democratic party has controlled the executive department of the state government for but six years—1893–1895 and 1911–1915. In the legislative session of 1891 it had a majority in the state senate, and in 1893 its membership in that body was equal to that of the Republicans. But—owing largely to the rotten borough system—it has only once come close to having a majority in the lower house, and even when it elected Simeon E. Baldwin governor in 1910 and 1912 he had to deal with a legislature which

was safely Republican. The Progressive program was not a sufficiently divisive force to weaken the normal Republican strength, drawn as it is very largely from the smaller communities, some of which are six and seven to one Republican. From 1895 to 1909 there were no Democrats from Connecticut in the national house of representatives, and never more than one of the five seats has been held by a Democrat except in the epochal year 1912, when the whole Connecticut delegation was Democratic. And the last Democratic United States senator from the state retired in 1879!

So far as the control of appointive offices is concerned the situation is no more satisfactory. Judicial posts are almost entirely in the hands of the Republicans. One of the five supreme court justices is a Democrat and two of the thirteen superior court judges. All of the judges of the six common pleas courts are Republicans. The judges and assistant judges of the fifty-four city, town, and borough courts are appointed by the general assembly, and are in nearly all cases Republicans. As to the staffs of these various tribunals, almost the same thing may be said. The eight state's attorneys are appointed by the superior court. Seven are at present Republicans. Such officials as coroners, clerks, public defenders, probation officers and messengers, though theoretically selected without reference to political affiliation, are nevertheless usually supporters of

the dominant party. One hundred and fifteen probate judges are elected by the people in special probate districts created by special act of the legislature. Since these districts in many cases coincide with town lines, the probate bench reflects pretty accurately the party complexion of the legislature.

County government is of relatively little importance in Connecticut, but every little bit helps in maintaining a party organization. The administration of the few purely county functions (weights and measures, maintenance of the county jail, etc.) is in the hands of the county commissioners in each county. The commissioners, three in number, are appointed by the legislature, on recommendation of the senators and representatives from each of the eight counties in the state. Since 271 of the 297 members of the present legislature are Republicans and since this is about the normal situation in late years, it is not hard to see that a Democratic county commissioner is a rare, if not extinct, mammal. The eight sheriffs are elected by the voters in the various counties and all are at present Republicans. Deputy sheriffs number one hundred and sixteen and are appointed by the sheriffs who name also the jailers and deputy jailers. In addition to these, clerks of the superior court are listed as county officers as are court stenographers, county treasurers, medical examiners and county health officers.

In the administrative branch of the state government, Republicans naturally have a preferred position. Little if any provision is made in the law for minority representation on state boards and commissions, and while some of these are bi-partisan in their composition this is not the rule, at least in the case of the more important ones. Democrats are to be found in considerable numbers on the various

boards administering locally the different state institutions, but as such institutions are traditionally administered in a non-partisan way, membership on such boards can scarcely be counted as a substantial asset to either party.

Not much sustenance for Democrats in this!

SOME COMFORT FROM CONTROL OF CITY GOVERNMENTS

From the point of view of the minority party the bright spots in the picture are in the larger towns and cities. In some of these the Democrats occasionally have a chance to capture the administration, and where they are not in a position to win elections they are in too large a minority to be neglected entirely in the distribution of "plums." In some of these communities there would seem to be a tacit understanding by which the minority party gets a share of the good things of public life. Occasionally, even, in the case of elective offices, the minority candidate if popular is endorsed by the majority caucus. From the point of view of the party's welfare, however, it would be better if the victors made a clean sweep of the offices. The morale of the Democrats is undoubtedly weakened by the willingness of their leaders to enter into agreements for these crumbs of patronage. This seems to have been in the mind of a prominent leader when he wrote that "except in rare instances when a Democrat is appointed to office he ceases to be of any value to the Democratic party."

The offices of justice of the peace and constable are also probably of some slight importance in holding the party together. The number of these functionaries varies with the population, but there are hundreds in the whole state divided between the two parties.

Nomination, which is made by the town committee (theoretically by the party caucus), is equivalent to election and it is probably true that a judicious distribution of these petty distinctions with regard to racial origin and social status has some effect in keeping the rank and file in line. So far as the really important town and city offices are concerned, about nine-tenths are now in the hands of the Republicans. At the present time, however, the city governments of Norwich, Waterbury, Middletown, Danbury, Derby and Ansonia are Democratic, while Hartford and New Haven have large Democratic minorities and occasionally get enough votes to elect an administration.

CAUSES OF DEMOCRATS' ECLIPSE

On the whole the picture is not a pleasant one for Democrats. Nor, it must be confessed, a hopeful one. There was a time when the Democracy was at least a respectable minority. Its present low estate may be ascribed to a number of causes. In the minds of many of the older leaders the party has not yet recovered from the effects of the Bryan candidacy in 1896. They speak ruefully of the "Bryan blight." Prior to the early nineties the party does not seem to have lain under the cloud of suspicion with which it is now looked upon by the prosperous and conventionally respectable classes. Democrats seem to have been entirely "respectable" before 1896, but the Bryan view of the monetary question not only split the party at the time but drove from it many of the men who, under conditions as they exist in Connecticut, were well fitted to be popular leaders. Some of the staunchest Republican magnates in Connecticut towns today are the sons and grandsons of men who were Democratic mayors and legislators in pre-Bryan days. In some cases even those who retained the

political allegiance of their fathers have formed connections with manufacturing and commercial interests devoted to the Republican doctrine of the tariff, and find themselves prevented from taking an active part in Democratic politics.

In the second place, the party suffers from the fact that it is not "respectable" in the conventional sense of that term. The feudal magnates who have ruled Connecticut society in church and state since the days of the Wolcotts, the Dwights, the Ellsworths and the Trumbulls, are today Republican almost to a man. This group which, it must be confessed, is animated by a high sense of its obligation to the public as members of a ruling caste, and has contributed not a little to the admitted excellence of state administration, sets the pace politically for the gentry. These latter, though not considered as entitled as of right to patents in this modern peerage, form strong centers of influence in nearly every community—an influence which is almost always Republican. On the other hand, the Democratic party, rightly or wrongly, is looked upon by the "respectable" classes as the party of turbulence and disorder. The presence in its ranks of large numbers of voters of foreign extraction, chiefly Irish, Polish and Italian, exposes it to much criticism from the "better element" which its conduct in recent years has done little to disarm.¹ The party has no press and the few so-called independent newspapers in the state are seldom in a position to take a critical attitude

¹ Among the thirty-five male members of the State Central Committee the following names occur: McKone, Barrett, Conroy, Nolan, Kennedy, Mangan, Keyes, Keegan (2), FitzGerald, Maloney, Gallagher, Crary, Lawlor, Kelly, Cornell, Dunigan, McNulty, Connery, Walsh, Murphy, Driscoll, Sullivan, Fagan.

towards Republicans in office. Democratic administrations in such cities as Hartford, New Haven and Waterbury have been freely charged with extravagance and financial mismanagement in the country press. And to the Connecticut Yankee of the small town, making his living by truck gardening, wood-cutting and dairying, extravagance comes close to being at the head of human iniquities.

POOR STRATEGY OF MINORITY

The strategy of the Democratic organization is also largely to blame for the present plight of the party. There are no direct primaries in Connecticut and nominations are still conducted under party rules with some slight regulation by law. The direction of the party in the state at large is in the hands of the state central committee, composed of one man and one woman from each of the thirty-five state senatorial districts. The activity of the committee is confined largely to the conduct of the state campaign although it usually takes a hand in elections in large cities. It interferes little in local affairs although occasionally it furnishes speakers and money (if any is available) to a town committee where it seems that a Democratic victory might be of strategic importance. In local affairs the party is largely controlled by the town chairmen who are chosen by the town committees.

It cannot be denied that the party is weakened by the fact that its official leaders, both in the state at large and in some of the towns, do not in all cases have the confidence of the rank and file. There are, for example, many who believe that the State Central Committee is managed by the New Haven members in their own interests with a view to securing the spoils of office in the metropolis. Moreover, there are charges of unnatural alliances

for personal gain between the state leaders and the Republican state boss. Such charges cannot, of course, be easily proved, but the fact that they are widely believed is as important in its effect on party solidarity as if they were demonstrated.

In order for Democrats to win in any large way it is necessary always, not only to get out the full party strength, but also to attract the independent voters and win over Republicans. These rather obvious facts have been persistently neglected. No serious attempt seems to have been made in recent years, either by the choice of candidates or in the party platforms to give the voter any reason to think seriously of the claims of the party. There are many able men in the party, but they are too rarely called upon to seek office. Among the "better element" the impression is widely current that the party is made up of "boodlers," "rough-necks" and spoilsmen, and that the occasional able and upright candidate is on the ticket mainly for window-dressing. This sort of thing is, of course, an old trick of all parties, but it is an incredibly foolish one in the minority party in Connecticut—where, for purposes of winning elections, at least, candidates and principles must both be, as it was urged of Caesar's wife, beyond reproach. In the last state convention it was only with the greatest difficulty that the committee on resolutions was prevented from adopting a "wringing wet" platform. And this in a state where the dominant party, after almost forty years of uninterrupted power, holds all the important offices, controls the press, and is officially dry!

In state affairs the party in spite of its small numerical strength might play the rôle of critic respectably under intelligent and public-spirited leadership. During the last campaign the

party candidates charged the Republican officeholders with extravagance, but the figures produced to substantiate the charge were totally inadequate. The Republicans countered with figures showing that the state was out of debt and living within its current income by following a pay-as-you-go policy. To an amateur politician with no axe to grind it seemed possible to find weaknesses in the pay-as-you-go plan, given the time and money necessary to make a thorough investigation of state administration. But money is not forthcoming for such "theoretical" purposes which, apparently, if indeed they ever occur to the party leaders, are not considered as "practical politics." Some slight attempt was also made in the last campaign to make the state's policy towards the power interests an issue, but since no Democrat was discovered who knew anything about the subject, this came to nothing. In the 1927 session of the legislature the minority attempted to secure an investigation of the whole question, but naturally without success. It is believed in some quarters that the Republican state boss, who is personally interested in the electrical industry, is making use of his political position to alienate the water power resources of the state. This is quite possibly true, but it requires something more than lung-power to substantiate it.

THE FUTURE

In spite of its shortcomings, however, the party hangs together and, where it can pool its strength as in state-wide elections, it has in recent years cast from 30 to 45 per cent of the total vote. It may even have a future. But if it does, certain changes seem to be

necessary. First of all, party enthusiasm and party harmony demand some change in the directing committee of the party. The members complained against may be more sinned against than sinning, but many ordinary Democrats don't believe it. Moreover, in one way or another the party must go out of its way to be "respectable." No matter how economic and industrial changes may increase the numbers of those who lean towards its policies, it will for long have to contend against the deep-seated conservatism of the "back country" voter, who has obediently taken his cue for so long from the squirearchy. Such changes at the top of the Democratic organization as would restore party confidence in its leadership and encourage a less sharply adverse public attitude towards the party would do much to improve its position. Moreover a more conciliatory and less purely obstructionist attitude of Democrats in office would help in this direction. Too often the minority in the legislature has been prone to drag partisanship in where it obviously did not belong, and to oppose measures for no apparent reason except to "let people know we're on the job." Finally, though funds are not plentiful a comparatively slight sum set aside for research would place the party in a position to be an effective opposition. As one who belongs to the so-called "better element" and who has also been "on the inside" far enough to see some of the wheels go around, the writer feels that it is only by some such settled policy that what the convention orators sonorously (and erroneously, no doubt) call "the party of Jefferson," can become other than what it is now—a political Lazarus under the table of the Republican Dives.

A MILLION SMALL HOUSES FOR GREAT BRITAIN

BY HARLEAN JAMES

Executive Secretary, American Civic Association

A million new houses erected under government subsidy have brought heavy financial burdens to taxpayers but may be cheap protection against social revolution. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

IN 1895 Dr. Albert Shaw in a substantial volume entitled "Municipal Government in Great Britain" outlined the causes which led to the increase in urban population, already in evidence at that time and, in both England and America, showing new gains at each successive census. He refused to be pessimistic over the apparently threatening outlook. Naturally the end is not yet. Much remains to be accomplished. But no one can deny that, as Dr. Shaw predicted, *collective effort* to provide adequate living and working conditions for all the people in the cities of England and the United States *has met* with encouraging success. Slums still exist, but they are distinct anachronisms. Urban death rates *have* fallen. Longevity *has* increased. Municipal officials on both sides of the Atlantic seek to provide more and better schools, larger and more scientifically laid-out open spaces, better means of circulation, adequate water, sewage, gas, electric light and power utilities and generally to increase the comfort of city living. With certain deplorable reservations homes are increasingly convenient and sanitary. But in 1928 as in 1895 the United States has much to learn from English cities. Not necessarily by slavish copy, but assuredly by understanding of actual accomplishment and application of policies to fit existing conditions, may American

cities profit by worthy English examples.

REALIZATIONS OF TODAY

In England as in America the radius for residential sections attached by bonds of transportation to urban centers of employment has constantly widened. In England as in America, too, the satellite industrial cities are distributing the population over vast metropolitan regions. But England has the proud distinction of having invented the self-contained Garden City. The official housing and town planning schemes of the last decade, under various forms of national and local governmental subsidy, have been realized on a scale unprecedented in the history of any country, and they bear the distinct impress of the garden-city movement in street layout and in actual cultivation of gardens.

HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING

Housing and town planning in Great Britain are of special interest to citizens of the United States because of the tremendous program undertaken immediately after the war. While the emergency undoubtedly made it possible to pass legislation which otherwise might not have been undertaken it must be realized at the outset that:

1. The accumulation of congestion and overcrowding in British cities before the war constituted a recognized

problem in itself. The cessation of building during the five years of the war only intensified the need for housing.

2. The long and successful experience of British cities in ownership and operation of public utilities made government housing acceptable to the people and to the public authorities.

3. The menace of unemployment and social disintegration made government subsidies justifiable investments in citizenship and civic stability.

4. The accustomed centralized authority of the ministry of health (formerly local government Board) provided a machinery for parliamentary action which would apply uniformly to all local communities of any class.

5. The long series of laws affecting housing, public health and town planning enacted during the half century before the war paved the way for the laws of the last decade.

As early as 1843 the Chadwick Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Laboring Classes of Great Britain led to voluntary efforts to improve housing conditions and in 1851 the Shaftsbury Act authorized local authorities to provide lodging houses for the working classes. Various legislation which, according to Colonel Freemantle, "gradually accustomed the State to apply its powers in aid of housing where private enterprise could not compete," culminated in the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 which was designed to clear insanitary areas. In the forty years preceding the war, over ten million dollars had been expended by the local authorities in London alone to clear about a hundred acres which had housed nearly fifty thousand persons. But in 1911 London still had nearly 25,000 admittedly insanitary houses.

Perhaps the most far-reaching con-

structive measure before the war was the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1890 under which power was given to the London County Council, to the boroughs, urban and district councils, subject to the approval of the local government board, to make town plans for all of their areas not yet built upon and to join with neighboring authorities for joint plans. English town planning has been characterized by the control of unoccupied areas which gives direction to future growth. It is under the provisions of the Act of 1909 that the present ministry of health is authorized to prescribe general rules and regulations for the planning of all local communities.

After the war this act was supplemented by the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 which made it compulsory for every urban authority of a population over 20,000 to submit a scheme to the board by the first of January 1926, a date extended by the Housing Act of 1923 to January 1, 1929. Under this act, as soon as the local authority has defined the area to be planned, every building or development must conform to the authority's requirements if they are to be protected against uncompensated demolition or other interference with the scheme. A preliminary statement covering width and direction of roads, building lines, open spaces, rules controlling height and bulk of buildings and *character* or *use* zoning. The scheme is approved, modified or disapproved only after a public local inquiry or hearings.

The local authorities are given great freedom, but pressure is exerted to make them act and advice is given them to keep them in line with approved town planning practice. The *character* zoning of England is somewhat similar to the *use* zoning of the United States but its administration

is quite different from the American machinery.

PLANS FOR THREE MILLION ACRES

Up to March 1928, planning schemes for 3,225,830 acres of land had been inaugurated. While plans for only 37,453 acres had progressed through all stages and received final approval, it must be remembered that intelligent and detailed planning is a technical, laborious and lengthy process. There is no reason to suppose that the entire area exceeding three million acres now being planned will not ultimately reach the stage of being approved by the Ministry of Health.

A MILLION HOUSES

From the time of the Public Health Act of 1895 a movement was begun which was continued in the Housing Acts of 1890 and 1909 by which local authorities were given definite powers of inspection, of demanding improvement, of declaring a building unfit for habitation and closing it. Moreover the local rate payers might complain to the central authority and the ministry was given power to force action on negligent local authorities. From the time of the Local Government Act of 1888, the tendency has been to delegate increasing authority to local officials but to depend on the central authority to lay down general principles for guidance and, if necessary, to enforce vigorous action, in case of neglect by the local authorities.

Before the close of the war an earnest effort was made to stimulate housing but it was not until the Housing Law of 1919, followed by the laws of 1923 and 1924, that building on a large scale was undertaken. Under the Addison Acts of 1919, local authorities were bidden to make every possible use of all existing buildings and in the meantime the government

undertook to meet from the treasury the deficit in housing schemes, the grants to be paid over a period usually of sixty years on houses and eighty years on land. The local authorities were limited by the law in their liability.

Over two hundred thousand houses were actually built under the two Addison Acts. The objective had been five hundred thousand houses in five years. The money was spent by the local authorities, but with the pressure for speed and no responsibility for the total cost, there was little incentive for economy on their part, and with the untrammelled working of the law of supply and demand on materials and labor, costs mounted to the breaking point. It was estimated in 1927 that the annual cost to the government would run about seven million pounds or about forty-one pounds per house. The local cost to the rates would come to about five pounds per house. The tenant, therefore, according to Colonel Freemantle, is dependent on public charity at the rate of forty-six pounds a year.

By the Housing Acts of 1923 and 1924 the central authority granted *fixed sums* and paid them over to the local authorities so that there was an incentive for economy. Greater responsibility and consequently greater freedom of action fell on the local authorities. Baths were required in the houses. Rents could be determined by them. Houses might be sold by them, with the minister's consent. The minister might contribute up to half the estimated average annual loss toward slum clearances.

The net result on March 1, 1928, as shown in the April issue of *Garden Cities and Town Planning*, was that 789,580 houses under the three principal acts have actually been com-

pleted in addition to 230,690 subsidized houses built by private enterprise, making a total of 1,020,270 completed houses.

DECREASING COSTS

The average costs steadily decreased. By May of 1927 the cost for some 6,000 non-parlor houses was 396 pounds and for over 1,000 parlor houses 475 pounds. By February of 1928 these costs had decreased to 356 pounds for 3,600 non-parlor houses and 430 pounds for 750 parlor houses.

JUSTIFICATION

If industry and agriculture could have been reorganized promptly on a productive basis, with well-paid, self-respecting employees housed in sanitary quarters built by private enterprise, providing a decent standard of living, no doubt the solution of the whole problem would have been placed on a sounder basis. But it must be remembered that the disorganized industrial situation, the demoralizing unemployment, and the hopeless housing congestion which followed the war were responsible for a vicious circle of discouragement, discontent and incipient revolution on the part of the unfortunate victims of forces far beyond easy understanding and control.

In spite of the enormous burden on the central and local governments for more than two generations to come, the benefit of these houses, in the employment which they furnished, in the living conditions which they provided,

and in the hopeful psychology that *something was being done to mitigate the sad lot of the unfortunate*, are incalculable. Great Britain was facing a crisis. In the decade since the war she has produced attractive, sanitary houses, with access to light and air, surrounded by gardens in suburbs and subdivisions laid out in many cases on modern city planning principles. She has set up and operated planning regulations and control which in the coming century may save to the local authorities sums of money which will offset the enormous cost of housing subsidies.

If Great Britain's housing program, which has been so severely attacked in the United States by those who saw only the financial burden on the central government and the local rate payers extending over more than half a century, did in fact, as many believe, prevent industrial and possibly political turmoil, the price may not be excessive. At any rate no one who has seen the slums of Manchester and Glasgow can regret that, by any means, at any cost, Great Britain has managed in the scant ten years since the close of the war, to plan, lay out, build and people over a million small houses which probably accommodate three or four million of the least fortunate of her citizens.

After all, the expenditure may be considered in the light of a long-range, sure-fire investment in good citizenship which promises dynamic returns to the industrial and political stability of England.

GRAND RAPIDS PROVES THAT FIRE PREVENTION PAYS

BY FRED H. LOCKE

City Manager

Through united community activity Grand Rapids wins the prize for the best work in fire prevention. Fire losses were reduced to \$1.72 per capita. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

AN effective fire prevention campaign will pay any city a larger dividend in the preservation of lives and property values than almost any other activity in which a city can engage.

In Grand Rapids, the fire division of the department of public safety is performing the dual function of fire extinguishment and fire prevention. Her citizens were justly proud when in 1927 she was awarded first honors of cities from 100,000 to 500,000 population for the best record in fire prevention work during the year in a contest conducted by the National Chamber of Commerce. We accept this honor with gratitude and while we hope to be equally fortunate another year, we are glad to set forth the methods used to accomplish this result for whatever benefit other cities may be able to gain from our experience.

For several years, our firemen had been making thousands of inspections of residences and business houses annually. We had been participating in National Fire Prevention Week by conducting special parades and by talks in schools and before civic bodies. But in spite of this, our annual fire loss had gradually climbed until it had reached the staggering figure of \$9.18 per capita.

A plan originating with the assistant fire marshal, Fred Higgins, who heads the fire prevention work for the division, was then proposed for an all

year around fire prevention campaign. The local Safety Council was asked to sponsor this campaign, which they gladly did. It involved the coöperation of the various public utilities and the large business organizations of the city. These were divided into groups such as furniture manufacturers, metal workers, coal dealers, milk dealers, bankers, and so on, until we had a group for each two weeks in the year. These groups, at their own expense, put messages into the pay envelopes of all their employees, placed selected posters in conspicuous places and upon their trucks and wagons, and displayed fire prevention messages.

The public utility companies put messages on their bills to the consumers. The street railway carried large posters on their street cars. Milk dealers placed messages on the bottle caps. During the shopping season, the insurance agencies arranged with many merchants to place fire prevention messages in every package leaving their stores. The local newspapers gave freely of their space, and prior to the Christmas season, published notices to be careful with Christmas trees and refrain from using candles.

SCHOOL CHILDREN AND BOY SCOUTS HELP

The school children were supplied with pamphlets showing fire loss experiences and were requested by the

teacher to take the pamphlet home to their parents to read, and report to the teacher that this was done, and also to report the location of the fire alarm box nearest to their homes.

A large board was equipped with a fire alarm box and all the appliances electrically connected so that when the box was pulled, it showed how the fire alarm office was notified of a fire and its location. This board was taken by two firemen into every school room and the children were taught how to pull a box.

The sidewalks were stenciled at street corners with the words "Prevent Fire." Nearly all the large factories had these two words stenciled on the walls in front of work benches, posts, and stairways, and any other place where such a sign could be used to act as a constant reminder to all in the building. This plan was put into effect in November, 1924, and has been carried on with a few minor changes since that date.

The local Boy Scout organization has been interested in fire prevention and they have organized into what we term "The Block Plan." We have twelve fire districts with a fire station in each. These boys are assigned to districts according to their troop locations and are instructed in their duties by the officers and men at their respective fire stations. The boy is taken by a fireman and introduced to a few of the people living in the block. He is then expected to make the acquaintance of the other residents of the block. He fills out a card showing the number of houses, number of families, number of children, number of automobiles, and such other information as the card calls for. The scout does not make inspections of the dwellings but if he finds piles of rubbish or other unsatisfactory conditions, he reports to his district station and a fireman investigates the condition and insists upon its correction.

The various fire stations are now conducting meetings within their districts which the people of the neighborhood are invited to attend. Talks upon the various causes of fires in the home are given by the firemen. The meetings are made interesting with music, songs and motion pictures showing fire and street accident scenes.

During the month of April, 1928, these meetings had a total attendance of over 10,000. The official records show that the firemen made 85,000 inspections during the year 1927. They have made speeches before luncheon clubs and factory meetings, and over the radio. Fire drills are conducted by our firemen in all our schools every two weeks. Bulletin boards similar to the accompanying illustration are prepared and posted from time to time in the lobby of the City Hall.

GRATIFYING RESULTS

The fire prevention activities as outlined above have resulted in a marked reduction in our fire loss, as is illustrated by the following figures:

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Fire Loss</i> | <i>Per Capita</i> |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1923..... | \$1,172,676.00 | \$7.66 |
| 1924..... | 1,077,318.00 | 6.91 |
| 1925..... | 815,888.00 | 4.98 |
| 1926..... | 312,825.00 | 1.89 |
| 1927..... | 290,830.00 | 1.72 |

We have received excellent coöperation from every local organization and firm that has been approached. The board of education encourages fire prevention programs in the schools. Such coöperation is not only desirable but necessary to successful fire prevention activity.

The activities and efforts outlined above are the basis for the reduction of our fire loss from \$7.66 per capita five years ago to \$1.72 in 1927. We are continuing our program and hope that the present year may show a still further reduction.

DEPRECIATION IN COMMERCIAL AND MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTING

BY ADRIAN M. LANDMAN

Of Landman Associates, New York

Many municipalities operating under laws requiring the retirement of indebtedness have a sounder financial structure than large numbers of commercial companies which meticulously set up theoretical depreciation. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

DEPRECIATION may arise from a number of causes and an exact definition can hardly be applied to it. In dealing with an example in its simplest form, however, we have before us the general scheme of depreciation and the logical result of its proper application.

Let us assume that a company's money, whether earned, raised by sale of stock or borrowed is invested in equipment usable for twenty years. Theoretically, we will say, the equipment will last twenty years upon a "straight line" depreciation basis. One-twentieth of the original cost of the equipment (ignoring scrap value) will be charged to expense of operations each year and a like amount credited to a depreciation reserve. If an amount of cash or securities corresponding to the depreciation reserve was set aside and made available for reinvestment at the life expiration of the equipment, an ideal cycle of depreciation operations would be complete, as the amount set aside would just equal the cost of the property. The last step, however, which is the culmination and an important corollary of depreciation is very generally neglected, especially by financially weak companies. The depreciation reserve, as accumulated, should be offset by an equal amount in assets, cash or its equivalent, inventories or fixed assets. The reserve is ordinarily offset not by cash or securities but by

increases in physical assets such as materials, machinery and so on. The result is that when the original equipment must be replaced there is a so-called "depreciation reserve" but no cash with which to finance the new, replacement equipment. The company must then raise more money by the sale of stock or by borrowing on the strength of assets added or liabilities decreased to offset the "depreciation reserve," to finance replacements. Depreciation and long term borrowing are inextricably interwoven, as depreciable assets are made up of items having years of service. The steps to which depreciation accounting should be directed are: (1) The periodical writing off of depreciation as a current expense; (2) The concomitant building up of a reserve, and (3) (a) the setting aside of a particular fund during the wasting life of the asset sufficient to buy replacements or (b) to retire the indebtedness incurred by the purchase of the assets affected.

In commercial companies the first and second steps are, of course, essential from an executive standpoint, but such companies have generally lost sight of the third step which is not considered important in business where money has been raised by the sale of stock or upon indebtedness secured by the total assets of the company. This step is receiving increased attention by bankers and bond houses and should

eventually receive the attention and importance it deserves.

In commercial practice the specific replacement fund is essential when bonds or notes are issued to purchase some particular, depreciable property, which is the primary security for the loan, such as equipment trust certificates issued for the purchase of rolling stock. When money has been borrowed to purchase such equipment, the setting aside a specific sum as a sinking fund to retire the evidences of indebtedness or the serial retirement of these evidences of indebtedness has the result of earmarking and applying cash to offset the shrinking value of the assets securing the debt.

This may appear more plainly if we continue our illustration. Twenty-year bonds are issued and sold to buy equipment. Each year one-twentieth of the value of the equipment purchased is charged to expense as depreciation and a like amount is credited to the "depreciation reserve." At the same time cash to the amount of one-twentieth of the equipment bonds issued for the purchase of the equipment is taken out of the general cash and either placed in a sinking fund or used to retire one-twentieth of the bonds. At the end of twenty years the equipment is worn out, the original amount as set up in the assets is taken off the books and the same is done with the "depreciation reserve." The bonds have been paid off, either in twenty installments or through the sinking fund. The cycle is complete and the company is back where it started. If the procedure outlined in the above example is followed, a co-ordination of depreciation and financing is presented in a theoretically ideal condition.

If a company is sound, well supplied with cash and constantly growing, little or no harm comes from the failure

to set aside specific funds for replacement or bond retirement, but in weak companies, those in which business is failing or even standing still, the results are disastrous. These disastrous results are tragically illustrated in the present financial difficulties encountered by street railway companies throughout the country. Far too often the practice in the past has been to carry equipment on the books long after it has been scrapped, refund the bonds issued in the equipment's purchase, and depend upon increased income to meet charges on new bonds issued to buy replacement equipment.

MUNICIPALITIES IGNORE DEPRECIATION

Commercial accountants are considerably exercised and shocked to find that municipalities take little heed to what they consider to be one of the foundation stones of accounting—depreciation.

Why has depreciation in its accepted accounting sense received comparatively little attention in general municipal accounting?

In common practice little was generally known and even less attention paid to depreciation during the years prior to the federal income tax laws. When executives learned that depreciation could be charged off as expense and thereby reduce the amount of income tax, it was welcomed with open arms.

The reason for depreciation is unaffected but its popularity is founded upon a distinct pecuniary incentive, which influences the controlling business group and compels their serious attention to this branch of accounting.

We must always keep in mind that commercial business is conducted for financial profit, while general municipal activities are conducted not for profit but for service, which cannot be reduced to accounting dollars and cents.

In commercial companies depreciation, if properly handled results in, (1) The proper charge of depreciation as expense and the resultant showing of decreased net earning over a given period; (2) The remaining value of assets after deduction of the depreciation reserve, which should give the estimated, true value of property assets. We have stated the incentive that exists for (1) but (2) is incidental and we frequently encounter efforts to negative the showing made of decreased assets on account of an application of depreciation accounting. The incentive in (2) comes from outside, from the lenders. Banks and loaning institutions were quick to appreciate their need for an accurate statement of depreciated assets and insisted upon their set up.

Now let us take the case of a municipality. No incentive exists for a reduction of net income, as there is no income tax to pay and no distribution to be made to stockholders. In fact every incentive exists to keep down the showing of current expense. There is no pressure from the lenders of money to the municipality, as the borrowing power of a municipality is based upon its assessed valuations and taxing power and not upon the tangible assets owned. Therefore, with municipalities the impelling motive for showing depreciation does not exist. Municipal accounting approaches, as nearly as possible, a cash basis and cuts to a minimum all journalized entries. The matter of importance to a municipality is not what its depreciable property is worth in money but the quantity, the state of repair and the amount of service it is in position to render. The matter of its money value is secondary.

It has been pointed out that commercial firms have not given sufficient attention in the past to reducing

bonded indebtedness through the use of sinking funds or serial retirements. The point here made is that, if indebtedness incurred for depreciable property is retired during the life or at the end of life of the property, the financial structure, so far as the assets are concerned, is sound.

Municipalities were long wedded to the plan of bonding for improvements and making no provision for the retirement of bonds. Expansion of population, increase of wealth and the resulting increased valuations of taxable property were counted upon to bear the additional burden of interest charges on current improvement bonds and also on the refunded bonds inherited from the past administrations; in the same manner that increased business in commercial companies is depended upon to carry on a similar policy.

Undoubtedly this plan would still be in high favor had not the various states enacted laws compelling municipalities to retire their indebtedness within specified periods of time. By compulsion of law, municipalities have arrived at the resultant third step or corollary to depreciation, which, by retirement restrictions, places each purchase of depreciable property by improvement bonds upon a sound financial basis whether depreciation is specifically taken into account upon the books or not.

To sum up. Depreciation and its proper record in accounts have always been of prime importance to commercial business but have been neglected until an immediate pecuniary incentive existed. In municipal accounting depreciation is only of secondary importance and the incentive for its recognition and use has been lacking. On the other hand amortization of indebtedness incurred in the purchase of depreciable property, which has even more of a salutary and steadying influ-

ence upon the financial structure, is imposed by law upon municipalities with the result that municipal bonds, largely by reason of this salutary legal requirement, are assuming a financial rating of the highest order. Commercial companies have neglected proper amortization of indebtedness and spe-

cial earmarked funds through absence of compulsion. As a result many municipalities have a sounder financial structure without showing depreciation in their accounts than have large numbers of commercial companies which meticulously set up theoretical depreciation upon their accounts.

LONG TERM BUDGETING AND THE CITY PLAN

BY GEORGE B. FORD

Technical Advisory Corporation, New York

Capital budgets have become an integral element in the execution of city plans. This article is part of an address delivered before the 1928 National Conference on City Planning. :: :: :: :: ::

It is stated by Mr. C. E. Rightor of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research in his most interesting pamphlet entitled, *The Preparation of a Long Term Financial Program*,¹ that probably the first long term plan for any governmental unit was that of the Minneapolis Board of Education which was announced in 1916. In 1919 a five-year civic program was outlined for Newark, N. J., as a result of their comprehensive city plan.

The first comprehensive city plan and budgeted program for a long period of years was that for East Orange, N. J., which was prepared by the city planning commission in 1921. A program of public improvements with their estimated cost was worked out for each five-year period from 1922 to 1972. Then the city's financial condition at each of these five-year periods was estimated and the program adjusted so that the city might always

pay for the proposed improvements within each of the given periods. While this program has served as a guide and object lesson, it has never been officially adopted.

WHAT CITIES ARE DOING?

The first general program for public improvements to be adopted at the polls was that of St. Louis, where on February 9, 1923, a ten-year bond issue program covering twenty-one separate projects and totaling \$87,372,500 was adopted by a two-thirds vote. The ability of the city to finance the undertaking without an increase in the tax rate for 30 years was first determined. At this time a big transportation program is being largely financed by local benefit assessments.

In 1924 San Francisco, with limited financial resources, formulated a ten-year development program. The program, however, was not carried beyond the stage of public hearings.

In 1925 a bond program for certain public improvements was prepared for

¹ Published by the Municipal Administration Service, 261 Broadway, New York City, 1927. Price, 25 cents.

Kansas City. Out of a total of \$26,610,000 only \$2,400,000 was approved by the voters. However, a revised program is being submitted again this year backed up by a more thorough campaign of education.

In the same year in Toledo only \$3,000,000 out of a \$32,500,000 bond program was approved by popular vote. Toledo is also revising its program and resubmitting it.

Buffalo has a capital budget committee under the new city charter and it is expected that it will present its program this year.

In Los Angeles a five to ten year program of capital improvements is being prepared. The extremely rapid growth of the city, however, makes the problem most difficult. They are preparing their program on the principle that limiting the amount of street improvements to the capacity to pay of the property owners affected merits just as much consideration as the plan for distributing the cost of such improvements over a period of years.

Dayton, Ohio, has recently passed several large bond issues based directly on the findings of the city plan.

In Cincinnati in 1927 a committee was appointed representing the various bond issuing authorities (that is, the city, the county, the schools and other boards) to present a plan of procedure for coordinating the bond proposals of these various authorities and developing a common program. At their request the city planning commission and the Bureau of Municipal Research presented a plan of procedure for the preparation of an improvement program and a plan of financing.¹ This program is particularly interesting because it is the first that is thoroughly

comprehensive, including schools, county and special boards, assigning priorities to each and determining the full financial effect. A complete program, based on the city plan, was made out for five years and a specific detailed program for 1928 was published in October, 1927. Despite the fact that it called for a total expenditure of \$10,553,000, it only raised the total tax rate $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Detroit, thanks to the work of Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, published its ten-year public program for Detroit in June, 1925. The program, which was quite comprehensive, called for a total expenditure of \$779,991,477. It was estimated that about \$63,528,000 could be financed by special assessments. It was also found that the whole program could be carried out within the New York 7 per cent savings bank law with only a small increase in the tax rate.

In April, 1927, the program was revised as an eight-year program. The ten-year program was reduced by about \$89,000,000. On the basis of these findings bond issues were voted for the most desirable public improvements, although under the New York 7 per cent banking law the margin for legal investments in the New York market was only \$19,000,000, while the borrowing margin under the Michigan state laws was \$233,795,867. Most fortunately the recent change in the New York banking law gives Detroit all of the latitude that it needs.

In December, 1927, Trenton, N. J., completed its comprehensive city and regional plan and long term budgeted program of execution. The program is arranged by five-year periods from the present until 1950. It includes all the capital expenditures that are proved to be necessary or at all desirable. The cost of executing the total program would amount to about \$26,000,000 in-

¹ The general principles of procedure in Cincinnati are described on page 16 of Mr. Rightor's pamphlet to which reference has been made.

cluding about \$9,000,000 for paving and repaving. The latter must be all paid out of general taxation instead of by local benefit assessments which is the usual custom elsewhere. Even so it was found that the whole program can be financed without increasing the tax rate and with an almost complete liquidation of existing and new bond issues by 1950. In other words, without increasing the tax rate and with no increase in the per capita assessed valuations, it is possible to carry out a complete public improvement program on a most comprehensive scale and at the end of the period find the city almost entirely out of debt.

A FIFTY-YEAR PROGRAM FOR WHITE PLAINS

In February, 1928, White Plains, N. Y., published its comprehensive city plan and budgeted program. The total cost of carrying out the plan over a period of 50 years was estimated at \$45,596,970. Of this amount \$12,944,087 will be assessed against properties directly benefited. The present population is 29,000. The funded debt on the completion of the program will be about the same as it is today, while the borrowing margin will have increased from the present \$5,000,000 to \$28,000,000. Meanwhile the tax rate, which was 25.027 in 1927, will increase gradually to nearly 31 and then decrease gradually to about 23. The assessed valuations, at present \$106,000,000, will probably increase during the 50 years to \$343,000,000, and the population will probably increase to about 73,000.

The report for the village of Bronxville, N. Y., was also published in February, 1928. It was found there that on account of the specialized character of the problem it would be necessary to increase the per capita assessed valuations about 25 per cent,

and the tax rate from 2.445 to 2.772 in 1929 with a reduction to 2.453 or less from 1934 on. Meanwhile the total bonded indebtedness for carrying out the whole program would come well within the legal 10 per cent limit.

Dallas, at the end of 1927, through its Citizens' Advisory Committee, prepared an amended Kessler Plan and a comprehensive budgeted program of public improvements to be consummated in nine years or less. The total bond program for \$23,925,000 was adopted by the voters, but at present it is tied up in an injunction suit. It is interesting to note that the amount of bonds recommended in the program does not much exceed the amount actually issued during the last nine years without any plan. While the tax rate stays at 2.47, the ratio of assessed valuation to real valuation is to be increased from 50 per cent to 58½ per cent.

Rye, N. Y., has recently published its comprehensive plan and budgeted program from 1929 to 1950. The total expenditure for public improvements throughout the period would amount to a little over \$3,000,000 including full allowance for sewers, paving, schools and even such things as garbage incinerators and fire apparatus. Only \$700,000 of new bonds would be needed, the balance being paid entirely on the pay-as-you-go principle. Meanwhile at the end of the period the total net balance out of current revenues, after deducting all old and new debt service, as well as current operating and maintenance expenses, would amount to \$1,246,900. The assessed valuations would probably double during the 22-year period, and the population would nearly double. Meanwhile the village tax rate of 11.26, exclusive of schools, could remain unchanged and the net borrowing margin would increase from \$1,379,000 to \$5,270,000. In other

words, a complete program for capital expenditures of all sorts can be carried out without increasing the tax rate and without any undue increase on the per capita assessed valuations, and at the same time nearly wipe out the municipal debt.

Mount Kisco, N. Y., is just publishing its comprehensive plan and budgeted program for 1929 to 1950. The total expenditure for public improvements is \$2,432,250. This again includes all desirable capital expenditures. Only \$300,000 of new bonds will be necessary, the balance being paid on the pay-as-you-go principle, leaving a total net balance from current revenue at the end of the period of \$589,250 after all debt service charges are paid. Meanwhile both the new and the existing bonds will be almost entirely liquidated by 1950 and the net borrowing margin, at present only \$55,000, will increase to almost the full borrowing capacity in 1950, which would be \$1,567,800. The tax rate for both the village and school will remain at the present combined rate of \$25.70. Population should increase meanwhile a little over 50 per cent. Again the comprehensive plan and budgeted program could be completely executed without any increase in the tax rate or the assessed valuations per capita and with an almost complete liquidation of existing debt by the end of the period.

Briarcliff Manor, N. Y., and Moorestown, N. J., at the present writing are just completing similar comprehensive plans and long term budgeted programs.

PROCEDURE

Taking the Trenton budgeted city plan as an example, all proposed public improvements and other capital expenditures were first determined scientifically by means of mathematical studies, and then the order of relative

urgency was similarly calculated. Next, various items were arranged in three classes. First, those that were vitally necessary; second, those that were also desirable and third, those that were interesting but not essential.

Then, the cost of each item was calculated and checked from various sources, so that a definite budget could be determined for each year and for each five-year period. Five-year periods were used so as to allow for an adjustment of the items at the beginning of each period.

As might be expected, the borrowing capacity of the city and the net margin between current revenue and current expenses rarely permits the immediate financing of all desirable public improvements and capital expenditures. Even if the borrowing margin is ample, debt service charges absorb so much of the current revenue that either administration costs would have to be unwarrantedly reduced or taxes unduly raised. Public improvements and other capital expenditures can and should be postponed until actually needed. It is wasteful to undertake them sooner, except where land is about to be improved with costly structures. Recent experience has certainly proved that a budgeted plan and program can determine scientifically just when each capital expenditure should be undertaken as well as its amount. Guesswork, the bane of all municipal financing, can be largely eliminated. A workmanlike program can be substituted.

In making a program and computation of the necessary and desirable capital expenditures, their dates of undertaking and their costs are not sufficient. It is necessary also to determine how much the city can afford to spend in addition to current administration and maintenance costs plus debt service charges. Debt service

charges on existing debts can readily be determined for each year in the future. Municipal operating and maintenance costs tend to increase with population except in the case of the very largest cities. Therefore, a projection of population growth can be used as a factor in determining operating and maintenance costs at any given date in the future. Sewer, paving and repaving costs can be determined in a similar manner as, other things being equal, they tend to increase with the population.

The total revenue of a municipality also tends to increase at least as rapidly as population. In other words, the assessed valuations per capita, on which the revenue is largely based, gradually increase as population increases. Tax rates also tend to increase with the increase of population.

The Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1926 also shows that in 250 typical cities nearly 54 per cent of the total expenses of the city were for current operation and maintenance, 5 per cent for the operation of public services, 31½ per cent for permanent improvements and 9½ per cent for debt service.

Now if the operation and maintenance

costs are subtracted from current revenue the balance, if any, is available for the financing of public improvements. If the latter can be financed directly on the pay-as-you-go principle out of current revenue the municipality is on a very conservative and strong financial footing. However, this can rarely be done, so financing by bond issues, whether serial or term, becomes imperative. The interest and amortization charges must be calculated on each proposed bond issue to see that the carrying charges can be taken care of out of the current revenue balance. Otherwise the bond issues must be reduced to a point where they can be taken care of, or the revenue from taxation increased correspondingly. The interesting part is that in Trenton, and several of the other municipalities above referred to, it was found that small bond issues in the immediate future would suffice and that all the rest of the improvements could be taken care of as needed on the pay-as-you-go principle. This naturally tends to improve the credit of the municipality, giving it a lower net interest rate on its bond issues.

MINNEAPOLIS LOSES THROUGH ANTIQUE STREET MAINTENANCE METHODS¹

BY H. J. MILLER

Manager, Minneapolis Taxpayers' Association

THE ward plan of financing and supervising street maintenance in Minneapolis has been attacked locally

¹ On June 18 the people of Minneapolis voted on a charter amendment consolidating the present scattered responsibility for street maintenance. The result was very close and court action and recount may be necessary for final decision. On the face of the returns the proposal seems to have carried.

for years. While the intelligent judgment of the community has expressed itself repeatedly in opposition to the plan, it has weathered every storm since its adoption in 1881.

Two events, one an act of God and the other attributed to His adversary, have so focussed attention on the weaknesses of the plan that hope of overthrowing it has again arisen and

taken the form of a proposed charter amendment. The act of God alluded to was a severe snow storm last December which tied up about everything in the city except the street railway system, and the expressions of discontent against our ward system of street supervision. The city council in desperation gathered together such authority as it and the street commissioners possessed, and with a gesture concentrated it in the city engineer.

The other act was the looting of our ward funds by certain ward street commissioners, the complete picture of which awaits the results of a comprehensive audit now in progress. Up to the present, one street commissioner has been found guilty by the civil service commission and discharged. Another has confessed and is confined in the state penitentiary. Another has committed suicide, while still another is awaiting trial on numerous indictments. So much for the background.

INEQUALITIES IN WEALTH AND PERFORMANCE

Minneapolis is divided into thirteen wards, each of which elect two aldermen to the city council which in turn appoints a street commissioner for each ward subject to civil service rules. As our ward lines have not been changed since 1887 when they were presumably based on population, it is not startling to find that they vary in the number of miles of streets per ward from 14.6 miles to 183.7 miles. Each ward raises and expends its own money for street maintenance under a charter limitation of $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills. The taxable property valuation upon which this millage is based varies from \$4,714,520 in one ward to \$80,972,326 in another ward. A comparison of number of miles of streets per ward with the property valuation of that ward discloses little relationship between the two. As a re-

sult, the ward tax now prevailing varies from 1.4 mills to 2.5 mills, the outlying wards levying the maximum while the older districts have generally a lower rate. If ward lines were eliminated for raising ward funds, a levy of 2.1 mills on the city valuation would produce the same amount as is now produced by five wards with a 2.5 mill rate, two wards with a 2.4 mill rate, three wards with a 2.3 mill rate, one ward with a 1.8 mill rate, one ward with a 1.7 mill rate and one ward with a 1.4 mill rate. Applying the annual tax levy per ward to the number of miles of street in the ward discloses a variance from \$252.96 to \$2,640.81 per mile. Here again the larger appropriations per mile are in the downtown or older districts where a higher percentage of the streets are paved than in the outlying districts. There are twenty-four pieces of real estate owned by these thirteen wards, including warehouses, gravel pits, tool houses, and oil stations, the original cost of which was \$286,271. Each ward maintains and operates its equipment independently. The depreciated inventory value of such equipment for all wards in 1927 was \$388,352. In eight of the wards this equipment value and real estate value exceeded the ward fund appropriation for 1928. For the thirteen wards this overhead value of real estate and equipment of \$674,623 exceeded the total tax levy for all the wards in 1928 of \$660,810. (In addition to this ward levy, however, there was also levied in special assessment for sprinkling, over \$400,000, which was handled by this overhead, as well as an additional million dollars which was credited to the ward funds from various sources, principal of which was from doing work on special assessment projects.)

To get a picture of the percentage of the tax levy which is apparently spent for new equipment, the levy for 1927

of \$626,589 for all the wards may be compared to the expenditure of approximately \$90,000 for new equipment. In one ward last year 62 per cent of its levy was spent for new equipment. Accurate knowledge concerning the probable unnecessary duplication of plant and equipment under this ward system must await more engineering analysis. An indication will be forthcoming perhaps this year from the cost accounting department's analysis of the number of use-hours for each piece of equipment in 1928. If so much of a ward levy is expended for plant that sufficient funds are lacking to put it to a reasonable economic use, such an analysis should reveal the fact. If our cost accounting department had been at work on these expenditures for a sufficient length of time there would probably be many unit cost comparisons that could not be explained away. For example, during hearings on city cindering projects last year, some of those present from North Minneapolis were curious to know why the lineal foot charge for cindering their street was much more than in another ward.

The layman's criticism of this ward system is directed to more apparent faults, however. For instance, as ward lines are the middle of the street it is not uncommon to have one side properly maintained while the other side in another ward awaits the action of a different authority. Likewise, in traveling a street running through several wards, the comment is frequent that you can tell by the condition of the street when you reach each ward.

TRY TO FIND WHO'S RESPONSIBLE!

To locate the legal responsibility for supervising the expenditures under this system a layman's examination of the charter is necessary. In section 7, chapter 3, under "Duties and Power of the City Engineer," it states that

"the city engineer shall have supervision and general charge of all work done for the city and of all work done on any street, highway or alley in the city, and may direct the manner of performing such work." Then in section 1, chapter 8, under "Public Highways and Bridges" it states that "the city council shall have the care, supervision and control of all highways, streets, alleys and public ways and grounds within the limits of the city." In the same chapter, Section 6, the council is then directed to appoint a street commissioner for each ward who shall "superintend, subject to the direction of the city engineer or general street commissioner, the grading of streets and laying of sidewalks and to carry into effect all orders of the city council, but no street commissioner shall do any work upon the street except such as is necessary to keep traveled streets and improved sidewalks in repair and passable condition, unless such work is especially ordered by the city council." The street commissioners are also designated as health inspectors and directed to work under the direction of the health commissioner. Then follows the famous clause: "All work done by the street commissioners shall be subject to the approval of the aldermen of their respective ward and the city engineer. The city council may also appoint one general street commissioner for the entire city who shall receive and observe the instructions of the city engineer, superintend and have general charge of the work of the street commissioners of the several wards, and do all other things which the city council may require of him to do." Now guess where the responsibility is for the expenditure of our ward funds! It is like the atmosphere of that old-fashioned game, "Button, button, who's got the Button?" In practice the responsibility is as hard to locate as in theory.

In some wards, because of political prestige or otherwise, the street commissioner dominates. In some wards the aldermen appear frequently to be the superior, while again the city engineer appears to have a measure of authority. Probably a better statement would be that the street commissioners, the city engineer, the general street commissioner (the city council has designated the city engineer as general street commissioner, who in turn has delegated the work to an assistant, who is commonly called the general street commissioner), and the two aldermen all dominate at times to the exclusion of the others. The public's contact is usually with the aldermen in the matter of appealing for street improvements. Rather than pass the buck as might be expected, many aldermen are jealous of this contact because of its political possibilities and do not wish to relinquish it to a central authority.

PAY ROLLS

Is it surprising that this system has resulted in a hodge-podge? The disconnected performance of the work is well illustrated by the method of accounting and checking of pay rolls, which is probably as legal as it is economically criminal.

The general system which pertained prior to the recent disclosures was as follows: A timekeeper or foreman in a ward kept a daily time-book with the names and daily record of hours which each ward employee worked. Once a year these time-books were turned in to the street commissioner. In several instances these records have been destroyed. From this time-book, daily distribution sheets were made out which contained the civil service number under which the employee worked, with the hours that he worked each day allocated to certain units such as flush-

ing, machine sweeping, etc. These daily distribution sheets were periodically sent to the city engineer's office for permanent filing. During a recent trial these records, as well as the daily time-books, were reported as destroyed so that no original record of each man's time existed. Every pay roll period the street commissioner then made out a master pay roll, presumably from the time-book or distribution sheets, which roll contained the name, civil service number, civil service rating, with rate per day or hour, and the amount due to the employee for the period covered by the roll. The commissioner took this roll to the city engineer's office where it was supposed to have been checked against the daily distribution sheets for that period. At least one instance has been found where this apparently was not done, as a name appeared on the master pay roll which did not appear on the distribution sheets, nor did the total amount of the roll check with the total of the distribution sheets. The city engineer's office then made three pay rolls from the master roll, one copy going to the civil service commission where the names were checked as to certification by the commission and as to the rate of pay. One copy went to the city treasurer who proceeded to make out the checks, while a third copy went to the city comptroller for the purpose of determining whether the fund against which it was charged would permit such withdrawals.

After the city council approved the roll, the original roll, which was the city comptroller's copy, together with the checks, were handed in a bundle by the city treasurer to the street commissioner, who proceeded to distribute them. Under the law the signatures of the payees were supposed to be placed upon this original roll when they received their checks, which roll finally

was returned by the commissioner to the city comptroller for permanent record. Such signatures of payees were quite generally overlooked, the treasurer taking the position that the signatures on the cancelled checks were sufficient protection to the city. The cancelled checks, however, were never checked against actual signatures in the civil service office. In several wards this procedure was modified to the extent that the engineer's office made up the master roll from either the time-books or the daily distribution sheets.

It is apparent from this system that a commissioner could add names to the distribution sheets and the master roll without the knowledge of the foreman or timekeeper and could then take out these checks before he gave the rest to the foremen for distribution. Of course, it would be necessary to use the name and number of a person who was properly certified by the civil service commission or that office would have discovered the discrepancy. It was comparatively simple, however, to find any number of names of certified employees who were not working and for

whom checks could be delivered to the commissioner.

The defense of one commissioner tried on an indictment which charged him with proceeding under this system, was that on numerous occasions he did put in names of men who did not work and signed their endorsements to the checks and took the cash and paid other persons that amount who could not be officially put on the roll owing to civil service red tape. While the defense did not produce in court a single person who had been so employed with respect to the checks covered in the indictment, the jury rendered a verdict of not guilty.

As the matter now stands under this verdict a commissioner could continue this system at will with nothing to fear but the probable punishment of discharge from the service by the civil service commission for violating its rules.

Is it any wonder that sentiment is crystallizing to do away with our ward system of street maintenance and put it squarely on the city engineer as a responsibility the same as construction of sewers, pavements, and water mains?

PARTISANSHIP AND PARTIES IN GERMAN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

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A study of city politics in post-war Germany

"IN a session of the Hindenburg city council, the Communists tried to prevent a Nationalist from speaking. A fight started. One councilman was knocked down. The chairman twice had to suspend the sitting."¹ This not unusual incident is quoted because

¹ Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger*, Aug. 18, 1927.

it illustrates something of the tempo of post-war city government in Germany. That German municipal institutions are far more politicized now than they were ten years ago is universally admitted; that this condition is primarily the result of the Revolution of 1918 is also conceded. Democratic ideas and

universal suffrage have replaced conservative domination based upon a restricted franchise. The present article does not attempt to deal with all phases of this new political development but is primarily concerned with partisanship and party organization in relation to the structure and functioning of the city council.¹

At the outset, it should be noted that local politics, both in and out of the city council, are largely shaped along national party lines.² The dominant groups are the great national parties and these are usually represented in the average municipal legislature. For example, no less than seventy-five of the eighty-four councilmen in the city of Karlsruhe belong to one or the other of the six major national parties. Ow-

¹ The council, by its very nature, is the most politicized of all the municipal organs. But the administration is by no means free from politics and the cry of "spoils system" or "invisible government" is often raised. See Dr. Glässing, "Die Verwaltungsreform," *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft*, xvi (1926), pp. 961-980. In spite of these allegations, the professional bureaucracy does not seem to have become unduly politicized during the past decade. Partisan considerations have also sometimes influenced the actions of the central authorities exercising supervision over the cities.

² This results from a number of factors: (a) Germany is a highly urbanized country and many national problems are city problems; (b) the difficulties of the post-war years have made it necessary for national legislation—especially in regard to finance—more and more to encroach upon the *Kommunalselbstverwaltung*, thus further preventing a sharp separation of national and local issues; (c) the national parties themselves, e.g., the Social Democratic and Center (Catholic) Parties, cannot fulfill their purposes unless they actively enter the municipal sphere; and (d) the electorate which chooses the city council is the same—except for the residence requirement in local elections—as that which elects the *Reichstag* and the state legislatures, an additional obstacle to organizing separate parties for national and local politics.

ing to the ease with which nominations are made, purely local groups are by no means uncommon but these do not ordinarily secure any considerable strength in the council. In fact, the councilmen chosen by such groups frequently adhere to one of the major party "fractions" as "guests." On the other hand, just as there are blocs in national and state politics, so also in many cities one finds more or less stable alliances among the parties. These alliances may be only for the election or they may result in the formation of an *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* which functions as a single fraction in the work of the council.³

The influence of national parties and partisanship appears also in the organization and procedure of the German municipal legislature. The city councils seem like miniature parliaments for they have taken over much of the parliamentary apparatus and trappings.⁴ The *Reichstag* has its organized party fractions and these are reproduced in the party fractions of the council. As in the national and state legislatures, the council members are seated according to parties, the Communists on the extreme left of the chairman, the Nationalist on the right.⁵

³ In 1927, out of 149 city councils, the People's Party had its own separate fraction in 49, while in the remaining 100, an *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* had been formed with other parties, chiefly with the National People's Party or with the Democrats. See Otto Most, *Gemeindepolitik und Deutsche Volkspartei* (party pamphlet, Berlin, 1928), pp. 7-8. The Center and Socialist Parties are, in general, opposed to such local coalitions, while of course the irreconcilable Communists and National Socialists remain aloof.

⁴ For a criticism of this "unhealthy Kommunalparlamentarismus," see von Eyern, "Grossstadt und Selbstverwaltung," *Kommunale Umschau*, i (1925), pp. 325-326.

⁵ In the official report of the council proceedings, the party affiliation of each speaker is often indicated together with such notations as "ap-

The *Reichstag* representatives vote together as a party group and so also, but to a lesser degree, the *Stadtverordneten*.¹ That distinctly parliamentary device, the motion of want of confidence, is likewise used in the council chamber against the *Bürgermeister* or other executive officials in spite of the fact that such a motion has no legal effect since these officials have a fixed tenure of office.²

Small wonder that the political atmosphere of the council room resembles that of the national and state legislatures. The school question, taxation and finance, socialization, unemployment, the housing problem,—these are the subjects of party motions (*Anträge*) and of heated debates in *Reichstag* and *Stadtverordnetenversammlung* alike. Of less intrinsic importance but equally controversial are various questions of sentiment. Shall the city buildings fly the old imperial flag? Shall "King Street" be changed to "Karl Marx Street" and "Kaiser Wilhelm Square" become "Karl Liebknecht Square"? Shall the council send a telegram to the American ambassador protesting against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti? Germans who long for the old

plause from the Right," etc. See, for example, the *Sitzungsbericht* in the *Amtsblatt der Stadt Stuttgart*, May 3, 1928, pp. 263 ff.

¹ On strictly party questions and, in practice, on many other matters, the municipal fraction votes as a unit. However, most parties do not go so far as the Communist Party which commands its members always to vote alike on all questions. See *Instruktion für die neugewählten kommunistischen Gemeindevertreter* (issued in 1924 by the Municipal Politics Section of the Central Party Headquarters in Berlin), Art. I, Sec. 7.

² *Entscheidung des preussischen Oberverwaltungsgerichts*, Bd. 35, p. 27. However, in Lippe, a successful *Misstrauensvotum* necessitates a new election of the collegial executive (*Stadtrat*) but the paid, professional members of the *Stadtrat* do not thereby lose their positions. See Lippe, *Gemeindeverfassungsgesetz* of 1927, Art. 49-2.

régime speak in disgust of the present municipal council, characterizing it as merely "a forum for the exposition of party dogmas." This characterization is hardly fair. It must be remembered that much of the work is done in committee without undue partisanship. Moreover, on every *Tagesordnung* of the council, there are many items which are discussed and decided without political bias. Finally, the permanent administrative personnel is a steady force which makes for the smooth working of the governmental machine in spite of the tumult in the council chamber.

Enough has been said to give a picture of the spirit of partisanship in the German municipal legislature. It now remains to speak of the relations between the councilmen and the party organizations with especial reference to the nominating process, the party fraction, and the higher municipal agencies of the parties. The methods by which city councilmen are nominated are comparatively uniform throughout the entire country. So far as the legal requirements are concerned, the act of nomination is very simple.³ A list of candidates may be placed upon the ballot by a petition signed by a small number of qualified voters, usually ten or twenty. No attempt is made by law to control the manner in which a given party makes up its own list of nominees. All such matters remain within the jurisdiction of party rule and practice, but, even so, the process is in the main similar for all parties. In the larger cities, the candidates are nominated by a city convention of delegates (*Vertrauensleute*) who are themselves directly elected by the party voters; in the smaller, by a primary assembly of

³ For a discussion of the legal requirements, see the writer's article, "Proportional Representation in German Cities," *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, July, 1928.

all party members.¹ In such conventions or assemblies, the local party committee plays an important rôle for it prepares in advance a "slate" of candidates which is usually ratified without change. The preparation of this slate is something of a work of art for all important elements within the party must be represented if a properly balanced ticket is to be secured. To a certain extent, this involves a due selection of nominees according to the wards of the city, a selection made necessary because councilmen are usually elected from the city at large and not from districts. Of much greater importance is the representation of groups within the party. The hardships of the post-war years have so emphasized the conflicting interests of economic groups and classes that no party can afford to neglect this factor. Even the Democratic and the Center Parties, which most vigorously deny that they are "class organizations," still find it necessary to shape their tickets in accordance with the economic groups within the party.² Take, for example, the procedure followed by the *Ortsverein* of the Democratic Party in Nuremberg.³ This *Ortsverein* has separately organized under-groups,—for public officials, for workers, for women, for the industrial and commercial interests, etc. Each of these under-groups submits a list of candidates to the city committee and from these names the committee makes up the slate for presentation to the city assembly of the party. The position of a

candidate's name on the ticket (and hence his chances of being elected) are to a considerable extent determined by the political importance of the *Untergruppe* to which he belongs. Thus, if the first candidate represents the commercial interests, the second may be a public official, the third a worker, the fourth a woman, etc.⁴

The recognition of the party's under-groups appears not only in drawing up the slate but also in filling vacancies in the council. Under proportional representation in German cities, the candidates who are not elected become the *Ersatzmänner* or party substitutes. Whenever a vacancy occurs, instead of having a special or by-election, the law usually provides that the next *Ersatzmann* of the party shall automatically succeed to office. In practice, this has given rise to difficulties since the ranking *Ersatzmann*, while of course belonging to the same party, may yet come from a different under-group within the party. To avoid this objection, the law sometimes permits the order of substitutes' names to be changed by a majority vote of the signers of the nominating petition.⁵ In effect, this means by the party committee, since the committee members are in many cases the signers of the petition.

After the nomination, campaign,⁶ and election, the councilman does not lose touch with the party to which he belongs. On the contrary, he becomes a member of a more or less specialized party organization de-

¹ Even in the large cities, if the party be weak in numbers, the nominations are sometimes made by a city-wide primary assembly.

² See the *Leitsätze für die Vorbereitung der nächsten Kommunalwahlen* published by the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung* of the Center Party (Cologne, 1924).

³ Information supplied in an interview with the secretary of the Nuremberg *Ortsverein*.

⁴ Although women are the strongest numerical group, the party ticket is seldom headed by a woman.

⁵ See, for example, the Prussian *Gemeindewahlgesetz* of 1923 as amended 1924, Art. 8.

⁶ For a discussion of campaign methods, see the writer's article, "The Hamburg Election," *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, Jan., 1928, [pp. 15-19.

signed primarily for municipal purposes, the basis unit of which is the *Fraktion*. The fraction is composed of the city or town council members of a given party.¹ Like the party fractions in the national and state legislatures, the municipal party fraction is often a formally organized body, having its own officers and by-laws and playing a definite part in the proceedings of the council.² In fact, the rôle of the fraction is frequently recognized in the *Geschäftsordnung* or by-laws of the council itself. Thus in Dresden, the presiding officer of the council and the chairmen of the several party fractions constitute the Senior Committee (*Ältestenrat*) of the council, and the fraction chairmen also possess other special privileges as floor leaders of their parties, especially with reference to debate and the bringing in of motions.³ In most cities, the general practice is for each fraction to meet regularly before every meeting of the council. For example, in Leipzig,⁴ the council sittings occur on Wednesday evenings while the committees of the council meet on Monday nights. After the committee meetings are over, the respective fractions gather in the rooms specially provided for them in the *Rathaus*, discuss the committee deliberations, and decide what attitude is to be taken on the various items of the agenda for the plenary session of

the council on Wednesday. In short, the fraction occupies a key position. Through its members on the committees of the council and on the administrative deputations, it is enabled to keep in close touch with all branches of city government. If the *Bürgermeister* or a department head belongs to the party, he may be invited to appear and advise the fraction in its deliberations.⁵ It is also important for the fraction to maintain contacts with the local party committee and with the voters. Where the local party chairman is not himself a member of the council, he may be asked to attend the fraction meetings with full power to vote. In order that the fraction may keep in touch with the party electorate, periodical reports are prepared and published by some fractions, especially those belonging to the Social Democratic Party.⁶ Or, in lieu of a printed report, a *Kommunal-Abend* may be held in which members of the fraction report to the voters of the party.⁷

The local fractions of a given party may be combined into special, district, state, and national organizations for municipal work.⁸ Here one finds the greatest differences between the parties.

⁵ It is also not uncommon for the *Ersatzmänner* to attend the fraction meetings.

⁶ See *Berliner Kommunalpolitik, 1921-1925*, the report of the Social Democratic fraction of the Berlin city council; and the *Jahres-Bericht, 1927* of the Nuremberg *Ortsverein* of the Social Democratic Party, especially pp. 15-23, "Tätigkeits-Bericht der Stadtratsfraktion."

⁷ The communal evenings are sometimes known as "Beer Evenings" for such gatherings by no means exclude sociability and refreshments. Another device is for the chairman of the fraction to report, not directly to a general assembly of the party but to the *Vertrauensleute* or delegates of the party by whom the councilmen were originally nominated.

⁸ See Johannes Stelling, "Kommunalpolitische Organisationen," *Die Gemeinde*, iv (1927), pp. 919-927.

¹ Or of the party members of the county or provincial legislatures.

² See Dr. Rheinhold Heinen, *Die Fraktion in dem Gemeindeparlament*, pamphlet of the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung* of the Center Party (Cologne, 1927); and Dr. Leonhardt, "Die kommunale Fraktion, ihre politische Bedeutung und Stellung," *Archiv der Deutschen Volkspartei* (Berlin), March 15, 1924, pp. 79-82.

³ *Geschäftsordnung der Stadtverordneten zu Dresden*, adopted 1926, *passim*.

⁴ Information personally communicated by Dr. Hübner, chairman of the Leipzig city council.

On the one hand, the Economic Party (*Reichspartei des Mittelstandes*) and the National Socialist Party have no special municipal agencies (apart from the local fractions), no separate municipal programs,¹ and no municipal journal intended primarily for town and city councilmen belonging to the party.² At the other extreme stand the parties having highly organized municipal agencies, such as the Center and the Social Democratic Parties.

The *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung*, the national municipal organization of the Center Party, deserves special mention because it is the oldest and most complete of all the parties.³ The *Vereinigung* was first organized on a national scale in 1917 but there had been various district organizations of Catholic councilmen as far back as

1908, and the Catholic municipal journal, *Kommunalpolitische Blätter*, was founded in 1910.⁴ The members of the *Vereinigung* are divided into two classes, regular and special. The regular members are Centrist city and town councilmen, county and provincial deputies, and all other persons holding any unpaid local office (*Ehrenamt*). The special members are those Centrists who are active in municipal affairs as party committeemen, state and national legislators, paid municipal officers, ex-councilmen, or *Ersatzmänner*. At present, the *Vereinigung* has over fourteen thousand members representing some twelve hundred Center Party fractions. The local fractions are grouped into county, province, or state unions, and these intermediate unions closely cooperate with the central organization. The chief organs of the *Vereinigung* are the annual assembly of all members, the executive committee, and the permanent *Sekretariat*. The seat of the organization and of the *Sekretariat* is in Cologne where the *Vereinigung* has its own office building and press. Among the services which the central office renders to individual members, to the local fractions, and to the county, provincial, and state unions may be mentioned the following; furnishing of information on general, technical, and legal questions, maintenance of a clipping bureau and of a library, advice and assistance in filling vacancies in the permanent local administrative services, maintenance of a registry with individual record cards for all members, arranging for lectures, study courses, and public

¹ Of course, the general platform of the party may contain planks dealing with municipal questions. See "Kommunalpolitik der politischen Parteien," *Handwörterbuch der Kommunalwissenschaften* (6 vols., Jena, 1918-1927), iii, pp. 1-35; vi, pp. 783-834.

² The party municipal journals are an interesting development of the post-war years, although one of the pioneers in this field, the Catholic *Kommunalpolitische Blätter* has been continuously published since 1910. The articles in these periodicals are primarily to instruct the party fraction members in municipal questions and are by no means always written from a narrow partisan viewpoint. In addition to *Kommunalpolitische Blätter*, the best known are *Die Gemeinde* (Socialist, founded, 1924); *Kommunale Umschau* (People's Party, founded 1925); *Die Selbstverwaltung* (Bavarian People's Party, founded 1922); and *Die Kommune* (Communist, founded 1926). Moreover, there are a number of local, district, and state party municipal journals. The regular party newspapers frequently deal directly with municipal questions or print special municipal supplements.

³ Space will not permit a description of the municipal organizations of the other parties, especially of the Social Democratic Party which was the first to draw up a well thought out municipal program.

⁴ For a brief history of this organization, see J. Nellessen, "Zehn Jahre Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung," *Kommunalpolitische Blätter*, xvii (1927), pp. 392-394. The facts given in the above paragraph are largely based upon interviews with Dr. Felix Gerhardus and other officials of the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung*.

meetings, issuing instructions with reference to the conduct of municipal elections, and calling meetings of the Centrist representatives before every session of the great local government organizations such as the *Deutscher Städtetag*, the *Reichsstädtebund*, the *Verband der Preussischen Landgemeinden*, etc.¹ In short, the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung* aims to school its members in municipal problems, to bring about closer coöperation between Centrist *Kommunalpolitiker*, and to secure a substantially uniform execution of the special municipal program of the Center Party.²

From the above description, it may be thought that the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung* is a purely voluntary body with no element of party discipline connected with it. Such is not the case. In 1920, the national convention of the Center Party decreed that town, city, county, and provincial representatives must belong to a Center fraction of the local legislature and to the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung*.³ This decree is sometimes difficult to carry out in practice but it at least represents the ideal toward which the party strives. In order to facilitate the formation of Centrist fractions, the *Vereinigung* has drawn up a model constitution (*Satzung*) which such frac-

tions may adopt although they are not compelled to do so. Moreover, before a member of the party can become a recognized Centrist candidate for the municipal council, he must file a written statement with the local party committee agreeing to the following: (a) to be ready to take part in the work of the campaign; (b) to join the Center fraction and the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung*; (c) to report to the party electorate concerning his activities as councilman; (d) and to resign his seat if he secedes from the fraction and party.

This last point with reference to the obligation to resign merits further consideration. It involves the question of the party recall or *Rückberufungsrecht*.⁴ One effect of proportional representation in Germany has been to lay great emphasis upon the elected legislator as the representative; not of the entire community, but of the party. In other words, the seat belongs to the party. Now if a councilman secedes from the party or is expelled from it, he is usually asked to give up his seat so that the ranking *Ersatzmann* of the party may occupy it. Otherwise, the party loses the seat to the detriment of its "proportional representation." Consequently, in party rule and practice, there is a general recognition of the "moral obligation" to resign under such circumstances. Some parties demand no written pledge from the candidates; others follow the example of the Center Party in that regard, while the Communist Party goes so far

¹ The same procedure is also followed by other parties. The delegates to the *Städtetag* or *Reichsstädtebund* meet in party groups before the session opens to discuss what attitude they will take in regard to questions that are to come before such gatherings.

² For the text of this program, see Franz Hötte, *Das Kommunalprogramm der Zentrums-partei*, pamphlet of the *Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung* (2nd ed., Cologne, 1927).

³ Nellessen, *op. cit.*, p. 393. Central party control over local representatives is likewise found in varying degrees in other parties. On paper, the Communist Party has a high degree of central control. See *Instruktion für die neugewählten kommunistischen Gemeindevertreter*, *op. cit.*

⁴ See also the writer's coming article, "The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in German Cities," to appear this fall in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The principle of the party recall has been recognized in the legislation of two American states, Kansas and South Dakota. See Holcombe and Wells, *State Government in the United States* (rev. ed., New York, 1926), p. 141.

as to require its nominees to sign in advance a "blanket resignation" (*Blanko-Mandatsniederlegung*) in which only the date is omitted. This resignation is kept on file by the party leaders who merely have to fill in the date when the resignation is to take effect.¹ But just how to enforce these pledges against stubborn political heretics and schismatics (of which German parties have a great many) is indeed a question.

If a party recall were specifically established by law, the problem of enforcing candidates' pledges would of course be simplified. This has been done in Baden. According to Article 17 of the Baden *Gemeindeordnung* of 1921, "Whoever loses his eligibility for office or withdraws from the party or electoral group on whose ticket he was elected, thereby loses his office. The council decides such cases." A somewhat similar provision formerly existed in Thuringian municipal law but this feature was not retained in the *Gemeindeordnung* of 1926.² However, in most German states, the party recall is illegal. Thus in Prussia, it is provided that "councilmen are not bound by any kind of instructions or orders of the voters."³ The Prussian *Oberverwaltungsgericht* has held that a councilman cannot be removed from office if he refuses to resign in accordance with a pre-election agreement. Such a *Rückberufungsrecht* or party recall is unlawful because it violates the article just quoted.⁴ A similar decision is that of the *Obergericht* of the Free City of Dan-

zig ruling that blank resignations are illegal and that a political party has no legal means of compelling one of its members in the city council to resign his seat.⁵ The matter has not been judicially decided in all states but most of the municipal government acts follow the wording of the Prussian *Städteordnung* and therefore would seem to invalidate any party recall.

In general, then, there is a moral but not a legal obligation to resign. Even so, is it permissible for a councilman voluntarily to give up his seat when he secedes from or is expelled from the party? It is a general principle of German municipal law that the qualified citizen must be willing to serve in the office of councilman or in other unpaid local office. If, without proper cause, he refuses to serve or resigns before his term is over, he may be fined, have his taxes increased or be deprived of his rights as a *Bürger* for a period of years. The municipal government acts (*Städteordnungen*, *Gemeindeordnungen*, etc.) usually enumerate the specific reasons which are acceptable as grounds for refusal to serve or for resignation,—*e.g.*, sickness, old age, previous long service in office, etc. In addition, one commonly finds a general clause covering "other special circumstances which according to the opinion of the council establish a valid excuse."⁶ Since the

⁵ See *Kommunalpolitische Blätter*, xvii (1926), p. 403.

⁶ Prussia, *Städteordnung für die sechs östlichen Provinzen*, Art. 74. See also Bavaria, *Gemeindeordnung* of 1927, Art. 112; Bremen, *Städteordnung* of 1922, Art. 19; Mecklenburg-Schwerin, *Städteordnung* of 1919, Arts. 12, 14, 16; Mecklenburg-Strelitz, *Städteordnung* of 1919 as amended 1923, Art. 14; Thuringia, *Gemeinde- und Kreisordnung* of 1926, Art. 18. The Saxon law is more specific on this point. "A person may refuse or resign the office of councilman if he is no longer able to share the political and economic opinions of the other members of the party ticket, their permission having been obtained." (Saxony,

¹ See *Kommunalpolitische Blätter*, xii (1921), pp. 117-118.

² See Thuringia, *Gemeinde- und Kreisordnung* of 1922, Art. 45, and Paul Kiess, *Handbuch des Kommunalen Rechts der Gemeinden, Stadt und Landkreise Thüringens* (Jena, 1922), p. 62.

³ Prussia, *Städteordnung für die sechs östlichen Provinzen*, Art. 35.

⁴ See the note on the Sorau case in *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft* xii (1922), p. vi.

council itself possesses the right to judge and punish refusal to serve (subject to appeal to the higher authorities), it is obvious that, under this clause, a councilman may be permitted to resign for political reasons without penalty. He may not, however, be forced to resign against his will.

The present scope of partisanship and parties in German municipal government has now been discussed. National partisanship would seem to be a more or less permanent feature of present city politics, but it is unlikely

that the spirit of partisanship will be carried to extremes. On the contrary, as time goes on and conditions become more settled, it is probable that the extremist elements of the Right and Left will play a less conspicuous and disturbing part. Party spirit will be less bitter but, and this is especially important, the national parties will develop more and more highly specialized organizations for municipal work. The municipal organizations of the Center and the Social Democratic Parties show what can be done along this line. The example set by these parties is one which the other parties are trying more and more to follow in the post-war years.

Gemeindeordnung of 1923 as amended 1925, Art. 25.) A similar provision is found in Lippe, *Gemeinderverfassungsgesetz* of 1927, Art. 19.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

PRIMARY ELECTIONS. By Charles E. Merriam and Louise Overacker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. 442.

Primary Elections comes as a new edition of the work first published twenty years ago. But it is something more than a mere revision; the overhauling process has been so complete that for all practical purposes the result is a new book. All the chapters, except the first three, have been rewritten and brought up to date. Two new chapters on "Presidential Primaries" and "Analysis of Primary Forces" have broadened the general outlines of the subject. In his "Summary and Conclusions," Mr. Merriam does more than recapitulate previous chapters; he subordinates his inquiry to the general problems of political parties and American democracy, offering valuable suggestions for reform and prophesying the probable future development of nominating methods.

The foundation of the book is laid in minute statistical studies which reveal its scientific character. The first five chapters are detailed chronologies of primary legislation and regulation, the convention system and direct primaries. Together with the appendices on primary laws, cases, and bibliography, they constitute an excellent reference source. Necessarily technical and special, they will probably not have so wide an appeal as the last seven more general, yet scholarly, chapters. The translation of statistics into words may hold some subtle charm for the political "scientist," but the chief significance of the book seems to be that the underlying problem for which it seeks new light and offers possible solutions, is sufficiently earthy to attract the layman, and to have that influence on practical politics for which its authors undoubtedly hope.

The question is how best to secure nominations to important political offices in a democracy. "Party nominating systems . . . are only a part of the larger political problem and are dependent upon the general course of other events. The nominating system is a phase of the American party system; this is in turn a phase of the larger problem of modern democracy. And democracy is a phase of the political order now existing, and this in turn of the economic and social order of the present day and

the Western World,"—this is the broad conception which Mr. Merriam has of primary elections. Tracing nominating methods through personal presentation, caucus, regulated convention, and direct primary—the gradual legalization of political parties—is to show the evolution of our efforts to adapt politics to changing social and economic conditions. The primary is a mechanism of control, not a panacea; it is only one step in a series of experiments. We are really testing the assumption made by democracy that the electorate can formulate social policies and choose wise leaders. Faced with criticism of the primary system, Mr. Merriam defends it against a return to the old convention. He suggests that we go forward first to a party conference and next to the short ballot.

Primary Elections must rank as an outstanding contribution to political science, in method as well as content. Here the problem is the focus of attention, while the disinterested researchers employ as tools the historical, comparative, statistical, and analytical methods, even suggesting the psychological method in treating such a primary force as leadership. Professor Merriam's personal experience with primaries, as well as Dr. Overacker's careful research, have gone to make up a book which deals competently with an important phase of our developing democracy and evolving constitution.

EILENE MARIE GALLOWAY.

Swarthmore College.



PIEDPOUDRE COURTS; A STUDY OF THE SMALL CLAIM LITIGANT IN THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT. By Gustav L. Schramm, LL.B., Ph.D. Published by the Pittsburgh Legal Aid Society, 1928. Pp. 219.

In Allegheny County, Pa., there may be at one time 391 magistrates competent to try civil causes involving not more than \$300. Of these, 242 are country justices of the peace and 46 are aldermen, that being the designation in the city of Pittsburgh. The 288 justices and aldermen are elected, and obtain their compensation only through fees. The jurisdiction of each extends to the entire county. In 99 per cent of 2,000 cases which were studied, the plaintiffs prevailed.

Provision is made for appeals to two excellent courts, in which the cases, if heard at all, must be tried *de novo*. But the expense of retrial is considerable and, in the cases involving less than \$75, either appellant or appellee often throws up the sponge.

Working on the investigation for three years, the author, who is assistant professor of political science in the University of Pittsburgh and attorney for the Legal Aid Society, has clearly presented an all but intolerable situation, devoting 219 pages to his text and appendices. The study is a model of thoroughness, and probably will be the starting point for a sweeping reform. But the legal right to fatten on the misfortunes of the poor will not be surrendered without a struggle.

Here is presented a dramatic contrast between the practical genius of a people who lead the world in scrapping inefficient machinery and business organization, and their political genius, which has run to seed along doctrinaire lines of eighteenth-century thought. So keen in business that they put the entire world under tribute, and so stupid in fundamental political administration that they submit to pilfering from a small army of picaroon politicians, their degradation of justice cannot be offset by thousands of prize essays on the constitution.

HERBERT HARLEY.

Chicago.



THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ITS GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. By Laurence F. Schmeckebeier. The Institute for Government Research, Studies in Administration. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Pp. xx, 943.

This comprehensive survey of the organization and operation of the government and administration of the District of Columbia is, like the service monographs of the Institute of Government Research, almost wholly a descriptive account, and makes no attempt to consider matters of administrative procedure, nor to present criticism of the existing system or proposals for improvement. It is planned, however, to issue another volume dealing with the latter problems in the light of other studies in public administration.

A brief examination of the study soon shows the complexity of the existing machinery, arising from the failure to establish a definite policy as to the relations between the local government of

the District and those matters which are managed as part of the general administrative system of the national government. The government of the District is far from an integrated whole, but is distributed between Congress, the commissioners of the District, a number of boards and other agencies dealing only with District affairs, a larger number of organs of the national administration, and several national agencies which have contractual relations with the District government.

The District commissioners have the most numerous functions, combining many of the usual municipal activities with some matters, such as insurance supervision, usually under state control. But the Board of Education and the District courts are independent agencies, and a number of other local services are substantially autonomous. More than a score of national agencies, scattered through five of the major departments and independent services, deal with a variety of matters. Thus the control of parks and playgrounds is divided between the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, the Rock Creek-Potomac Parkway Commission, the director of public buildings and public parks, the department of playgrounds under the District commissioners, the Smithsonian Institution and the Architect of the Capitol.

In some respects the situation resembles that in the territory of Alaska; and in both cases there is need for working out a simpler and more definite distribution of authority.

The last chapter, on "Citizens' Associations," deals briefly with a significant group of unofficial organizations, about which further information would be welcome.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE.

University of Illinois.



A SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE COLLECTIONS. By William Anderson and Sophia Hall Glidden. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1928. Pp. 188.

Almost every special library feels a need for a classification especially adapted to its collection. In 1922 when the Special Libraries Association made a study of methods used in such libraries, it was found that of one hundred and ten replying, seventy-eight librarians indicated that they would welcome a library classification which developed their particular subject further than any existing classification system had done.

That each library was trying to solve the difficulty is evidenced by the fact that ninety libraries reported that they used a combination of several classifications, or used an adaptation, or an expansion, or a special classification for their subject. In most cases, these special library classifications as used by individual libraries are never printed. Therefore the Bureau for Research in Government of the University of Minnesota is to be complimented that the classification under review has been made available in print. Mrs. Sophia Hall Glidden is the one to whom credit should be given for it; it was evolved during her work as librarian of the Municipal Reference Bureau and it has been put to the test of actual use for six years in that library and also in the Bureau for Research in Government library.

This classification covers the subjects of politics, government, and administration, national, state and local. Letters, not numbers, have been chosen to connote the classes. The field of political science has been divided into twenty-one main divisions and each has been assigned a letter arbitrarily.

An alphabetically arranged subject index has been very carefully prepared. It seems to be absolutely complete for all subjects included in the classification and cross-references have been generously supplied. It is intended primarily as a finding list, but it is expected that it may also serve the librarian as a list of subject-headings. The technique of the cataloguer is shown in the fullness with which the "see" and "see also" references have been included in the right-hand column of the subject index for the use of the librarian.

The reviewer knows of only two other classifications in printed form planned exclusively for municipal government material; one is *The Classification Scheme of the Library for Municipal Research at Harvard University*, by Joseph Wright, published in 1917; the other is *Tentative Classification for Subject Files*, issued by the American City Bureau in 1919. In both of these schemes the connotation is letters of the alphabet; in one arbitrarily assigned to the subject, and in the other the first letter of the subject is used. Both use digits following the letters, and one uses decimals like Dewey. The Minnesota classification is more carefully worked out and is more complete than these earlier schemes, and the subject index assures its more consistent application.

It is my opinion that this classification is a good one. I tried to apply it to current civic material being received, and in every case it was easy to assign a number from this system. It is unfortunate that the system has no mnemonic features; the letters are arbitrarily assigned to the classes and, though the subdivisions and sub-heads are logically made, still the numbers are not given in such a way as to memorize easily. Since the classification has such a splendid finding list I suppose we need not expect mnemonic features as well. It gives all evidences of being a splendid scheme well laid out in its basic principles and well tried out by six years of actual use.

REBECCA B. RANKIN.

Municipal Reference Library,
New York City.

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CONSOLIDATING STATE ADMINISTRATION IN OHIO.

By the State Committee of the Citizens League of Cleveland, 1928. Pp. 28.

This recent report is addressed to the members of the Joint Legislative Committee on Economy in Public Service, which is now making a survey of the administrative organization and employment conditions of the Ohio state government. The report deals entirely with the state organization under the administrative code of 1921, which has been the subject of considerable criticism. The committee finds that the code organization "has been administered almost entirely since its adoption by a governor who was openly opposed to the principle which it sought to establish, and it has had the silent opposition of a large and sincere group of socially-minded citizens who were wedded to the plan of organization and administration of state welfare activities existing prior to the adoption of the administrative code."

The report goes on to point out the increasing cost of state government, the inadequacy of the old plan of administrative organization to meet the new requirements as shown by the experience of more than a dozen states, and the need for a simplified, direct, and responsible type of state administration. The committee does not claim that the present organization of Ohio is perfect; in fact, it points to several defects that should be remedied. It proposes, however, that these be remedied by further consolidation along present lines. It admits the present need for continuity in administration and suggests that the solution lies in giving the governor a longer term of office,

in appointing advisory boards for each department and important division or institution as now provided in the code, and in requiring all heads of divisions and other officers below the directors to be appointed on merit and retained in the service during good behavior. On this point the committee says:

The enormous increase in the state's business requires that the governor be elected for a longer period—four years—which would enable him to get a grasp of the problems and work out the right solution. The appointment of advisory boards with power to consult and advise, but not to execute, would aid greatly in stabilizing administrative policies. When to these two stabilizing influences is added the principle of a trained and permanent service, whereby all officers below that of department heads are chosen solely on the basis of merit, then all of the continuity which is desired will be assured without the loss of the more important principle of executive authority and responsibility.

The report is well planned and carefully written. Although it covers only twenty-eight mimeographed pages, the subject is thoroughly and convincingly treated.

A. E. BUCK.

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FISCAL PROBLEMS OF CITY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION: A report by the Special Joint Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment, State of New York. Legislative Document (1928), No. 66 Pp. 130.

This report to the New York state legislature, made after state-wide hearings and comprehensive studies, touches the high and sore spots in the conflict of interest between municipal and school authorities in many of the cities in New York State. The report is of interest in that its authors are convinced that since the previous study in 1919 there are fewer points of friction, and the intensity of disagreement is reduced. In brief, "there seems to be less friction than formerly in those cities where the administration has definite control over the educational budget, and also in those municipalities where there is complete separation. There still exists an unsatisfactory condition in those municipalities where the educational authorities have complete, or practically complete, control of the budget and the city authorities are held responsible for the tax rate."

The committee finds "that since 1919 . . . there has been a noticeable improvement in the business management of city schools." To fur-

ther this, the committee suggests that the boards of education be granted specific authority to create the position of business superintendent to be responsible directly to the board if it so desires. Obviously, this is a recommendation to supersede the present law granting priority in authority to the superintendent of schools with dual control, despite the conceded progress now being made under the existing system of unit control.

The second major recommendation in the report is that the mayor of each city be authorized to sit in the board of education at times when the budget is being discussed. This suggestion raises the question of what the mayor's position would be when called upon in many cities to review the budget of the schools in the making of which he had had a responsible part.

In the chapter covering the place of education in local government, there are interesting historical facts, references to current foreign practice, and recognition of the principle that, so far as administrative reorganization of the schools is concerned, cities should be dealt with individually "in recognition of their several conditions and traditions."

In addition to the supporting data for the recommendation for administrative changes in the schools, there are cost data, references to measuring education, and various appendices.

In this interesting document, which merits the attention of any school official or responsible city head, there is a significant sentence which is well worth remembering: "As we analyze the situation it appears that the difficulty with our city-school relations is that we have permitted a vicious separation of power from responsibility in the local administration and financing of schools."

H. E. AKERLY.

Rochester, N. Y.

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Three City Reports.—*Staunton, Virginia. Annual Report for the Year Ending March 31, 1928. By Willard F. Day, City Manager. Pp. 62.*—In less than four weeks after the end of the period covered, this report was in the hands of the taxpayers of Staunton. As far as the writer knows, this establishes a record for promptness—a basic essential of reporting. Nor did the quality of the report suffer by reason of this speed in publication. In spite of the absence of three important features, this volume must be classed

among the outstanding reports of the year. It is too long, has no table of contents, and lacks an organization chart. The latter would have served a useful purpose in helping the reader to understand more easily the operation of the governmental machinery and the resulting product as expressed in the various activities and services. The poor arrangement of material near the front of the report also detracts from the many good qualities. To name the headings of a few subjects in order of appearance will illustrate,—collections, annexation, city planning, street widening, zoning and building inspection, office of the city manager, building inspections, new high school culvert, etc. The preparation of a clear and simple organization and function chart at the beginning would doubtless have helped in arranging the material in a more logical order.

The last twenty-one pages of the report contain the budget with comparative figures for the previous year, and the city treasurer's report covering the period of the report. This attempt to correlate activities and services with costs is highly commendable, and is indicative of the many other favorable characteristics of this excellent report.

Austin, Texas. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending December 31, 1927. By Adam R. Johnson, City Manager. Pp. 183.—One hundred and eighty-three pages of a public report would under ordinary circumstances condemn the document without further evidence. This report, however, disposes of all the municipal activities in thirty-eight pages, while the remaining pages are taken up by a detailed financial report. These financial tables are doubtless as interesting to a taxpayer as any 145 pages of statistics could be, but it is presuming altogether too much attention by the readers. If only a budget summary

had been placed in the report and a few short statements setting forth briefly and clearly where the revenue came from, what unit of the organization spent it, and the service or activity for which it was spent, the result would have added materially both to the value and to the interest of the report.

A well-prepared table of contents in the front of the report helps the reader to find what he wants in a minimum of time. Among the last ten reports reviewed, this is the second one containing a table of contents. If report writers would draw up an outline before they begin the arrangement of their manuscript, it would aid in the preparation and organization of material and serve later as a basis for a table of contents. This report is made attractive by a neat cover, good paper, clear type, and a few well-chosen pictures.

Westerville, Ohio. Annual Report for the Year 1927. By L. G. Whitney, City Manager. Pp. 37.—This report of municipal activities was available to the taxpayers of Westerville, eleven weeks after the end of the period covered, a record not many reports equal; and yet the report should have been available in but half the time. Its main feature is a few well chosen pictures and charts well distributed throughout the relevant text. The charts portraying the past and present financial condition of the town are especially clear and simple. The defects include an utter lack of emphasis upon important facts, no organization chart or table of contents, and no clear-cut recommendations or other evidence of plans for the future.

While this last report is not up to the high standard set by the 1926 report of Westerville, it nevertheless is far superior to many municipal reports emanating from much larger cities.

C. E. RIDLEY.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY RUSSELL FORBES

Secretary

Recent Reports of Research Agencies.—The following reports have been received at the central library of the Association since June 1, 1928:

Boston Finance Commission:

A Study of the Cost of School Lands for the Last Ten Years.

Kansas City Public Service Institute:

"Charities and Corrections," Jackson County, Missouri.

Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.:

Report on a Long Term Financial Program for Schenectady, N. Y.

Report on Preliminary Survey of the Department of Public Instruction.

Report on Preliminary Survey of the Department of Assessment and Taxation.



Boston Finance Commission.—The commission has recently issued the following reports: to the mayor regarding commissions paid on certain property purchased by the trustees of the White Fund for the city; to the school committee regarding proposed taking of land for a junior high school in the Charlestown district; and to the school committee recommending that serious consideration be given to the sites on Union Street and Chestnut Hill Avenue for the Brighton Intermediate School.



Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.—The first portion (city section) of the Institute's *Red Book*, Financial Statistics—Canadian Governments, has been issued. The Institute has issued a report on *The Present Tax Structure in Canada*. No attempt was made to show every existing source of revenue tapped by the various governments in Canada. Only the more important sources, which might be termed "taxes," were given. This report has aroused very considerable interest and was reproduced by the press in various parts of the Dominion.

The Institute also issued an open letter regarding the non-allowance of local improvement taxation as a deduction in arriving at income for the purposes of the dominion income tax.

A study of automobile accident fatalities has been started. This study will cover fatal motor accidents not only on the American continent but also in the larger European cities.



Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware.—The League has made progress on the preparation of material for use in drafting a finance code for the state and its subdivisions, which is to be prepared jointly with a committee of the Delaware Bankers' Association. Work has been continued on the objective analysis of the state appropriations and expenditures. J. Ernest Solway, of the Delaware bar, has been retained as a special staff member to compile all existing constitutional provisions and all laws relating to the fiscal administrative affairs of the state and its subdivisions.

The audit and analysis of the accounts and the accounting and budget procedure of the town of Milford has been completed. The League is now engaged in preparing its report and in designing a new accounting and budget procedure.

Having ended a year's work installing and supervising the operation of a new accounting and budget procedure for the Delaware Industrial School for Girls, the League is now analyzing the year's records and preparing a report on the results.



Civic Affairs Department, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce.—The department has started its annual study of the Indianapolis municipal budget for 1929. A special budget subcommittee has been appointed to advise the staff on matters of policy. It is considering requests of the civil city for increases in street thoroughfare, track elevation and street resur-

facing tax levies, as well as requests for large increases in the number of policemen and firemen.

The department is completing a draft of a proposed amendment to the law governing election of school boards in Indianapolis. The amendment will provide for a biennial election with three members elected at large in one election and two members elected at large in the next election, the election to be held at the same time as the election of civil city commissioners under the commission-manager charter which Indianapolis has voted to adopt in 1930. The department is also considering teacher tenure and teacher pension acts with a view to suggesting improvements in these laws.

The department has been successful in obtaining an appropriation for housing improvements at Fort Benjamin Harrison.



National Institute of Public Administration.—

Bruce Smith, who is the director of the study on uniform crime records which is being carried out under the auspices of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, attended the meeting of the Association at Colorado Springs, June 25 to 28.

Harry Freeman, director of the Buffalo Bureau, Joseph F. Base, director of the Schenectady Bureau, and Alden Fensel, acting director of the Cleveland Bureau, visited the Institute during the month of June.

Professor Theo Suranyi-Unger of the faculty of law, Miskola, Hungary, is doing some research at the Institute in connection with his study of the social and economic history of New York.



Pittsburgh Bureau of Governmental Research.—Frank L. Olson, associate director of the Bureau, passed away at the Pittsburgh Hospital on June 18. In the death of Mr. Olson, the municipal research movement has lost one of its most capable workers. He was associated with the movement from its very beginning, and has made a great contribution to the advancement of municipal administration.



Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.—

Long Term Financial Program.—The city officials have concurred in our suggestion that a

long term financial program be prepared to cover the city's capital expenditures for the next five or ten years. The mayor, in a special message to the council, recommended that such a schedule of capital accounts be made and that a special committee composed of citizens and city officials be appointed to prepare such a program, as announced elsewhere in this issue. The council concurred in the mayor's suggestion and in a resolution authorized the appointment of a citizen advisory commission and also suggested that the Bureau be called upon to assist in the work. The mayor accordingly appointed a committee of seven, composed of four city officials and three civilians, including the managing director of the Bureau.

The Bureau staff, anticipating the foregoing procedure, has been at work compiling data with reference to the city's income and expense. The first section of the long term financial program study covering this phase of city finance has been prepared and is ready for submission to the city advisory commission at its first meeting.

Civil Service Study.—A. H. Hall, instructor in political science at Union College, has joined the staff of the Bureau for the summer months and is engaged in a special study of the local civil service department. The work is being done in coöperation with the civil service secretary and with the approval of the civil service commission. This work embraces the customary classification of the civil service personnel, including the preparation of job specifications covering the various classes.

A merit system and certain salary standardizations, with lines of promotion to encourage longer tenure of service, will also be suggested.

New Building Code.—The chairman of the council committee on laws and ordinances has requested the Bureau to lend its assistance in preparing a new building code for the city. The Bureau is engaged in making a review of the proposed code which was submitted to the council several years ago. Indications are that this document will need complete revision, due to the fact that it has already become obsolete since its original proposal for adoption.

Charities Administration.—The local League of Women Voters has requested the Bureau to make a study of the administration of charities in the city and county. An outline for the approach to this problem has been prepared and the actual field work on this survey will be commenced shortly.

NOTES AND EVENTS

EDITED BY RUSSELL FORBES

Proposed Consolidation of St. Louis City and County.—A new effort was recently made to effect a merger of St. Louis County with the City of St. Louis, by placing the issue before the voters of the entire state.

The initiative method of effecting the merger was proposed to Mayor Miller by a delegation of county and city residents. The Mayor announced that he would appoint a committee of about two hundred citizens who would endeavor to put the issue to a state-wide vote.

Although the suggestion was made to the Mayor early in April, the Mayor had failed to announce appointment of the proposed committee prior to July 5. The initiative petitions would have to be presented to the secretary of state by July 7 to assure inclusion in the ballot for the November election. As no action has been taken to obtain the necessary signatures on initiative petitions, it is therefore impossible to place the issue before the voters of the state in 1928.

C. W. ATKINS.

St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research.



Twenty-first Annual Conference of the National Tax Association.—The executive committee of the National Tax Association have decided upon Seattle, Washington, as the place for the twenty-first annual conference of that Association. It will be held in the week of August 27, 1928, with headquarters at the Hotel Olympic.



Summary of Pension Systems.—The Department of Labor has issued the results of a recent survey summarizing the pension systems in nine large American cities. Those covered are Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and San Francisco.



According to the division of building and housing of the Department of Commerce, zoned municipalities in the United States now number 583 with a population of more than 31,000,000.

The Next Annual Meeting of the Assembly of Civil Service Commissions will be held in Denver, September 4 to 7. Charles P. Messick is chairman of the program committee.



First Annual Northwest Fire School.—The University of Minnesota, the League of Minnesota Municipalities and the Minnesota Department of Insurance will sponsor a fire school to be held in Minneapolis, August 13 to 17. An elaborate program has been prepared which will consist of addresses by leading authorities on fire fighting methods for large and small cities. The program will also provide for demonstrations of methods in such phases of fire fighting as laying stairway lines, the proper use of high ladders, and handling emergencies such as burst hose. Harvey Walker, acting executive secretary of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, is serving as director of this fire school, which will be an annual event in the Northwest.



Fourth International Congress of Cities, March, 1929.—The fourth International Congress of Cities will be held in Seville, Spain, March 19-23, 1929. This congress of cities had been called for October 5 to 9, 1928, but owing to the postponement of the opening of the Spanish-American Exposition in Seville to March 15, 1929 the congress was postponed.

The American Municipal Association, which holds an active membership in the International Federation of Local Government Associations (Union Internationale des Villes et Pouvoirs Locaux) which sponsors the international congress of cities, will promote a tour of American city officials to European cities, including in the itinerary the fourth international congress, in March, 1929.



Schenectady Mayor Appoints Commission on Long-Term Financial Program.—During the latter part of June Mayor Fagal of Schenectady appointed a capital accounts commission. The commission is composed of Joseph F. Base, di-

rector of the Bureau of Municipal Research; Ira D. LeFevre, general auditor of the General Electric Company; James C. McDonald, well-known real estate dealer; and the following ex-officio members: James A. Horne, president of the common council; Leon G. Dibble, comptroller; Frank R. Lanagan, city engineer; and Walker H. Mishler, commissioner of public works. It will be the function of the commission to study the financial needs of Schenectady's municipal government for the next ten years and to prepare a ten-year budget based on estimated requirements in public works improvements and for current operation. This action is the outgrowth of a recommendation of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research. It has been praised editorially by Schenectady newspapers as one of the most forward-looking events in the history of that city.



Annual Meeting of Colorado Municipal League.—The Colorado Municipal League held its annual convention at Sterling, Colorado, June 14, 15 and 16. Sixty delegates, representing twenty cities, were in attendance.



Minneapolis Charter Changes Defeated.—On June 19 two proposed changes in the charter of Minneapolis were defeated at referendum. One proposal would have centralized the administration of public works as a substitute for the present administration by wards. The other proposal would have brought about a redistricting of the wards of the city for the election of aldermen. The vote on each proposal was close; both proposals failed to secure the necessary three-fifths majority. The sponsors of the charter change have, however, appealed to court for a recount of the ballots.



Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.—The annual Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia will be held on August 5 to 18. In addition to the daily popular addresses by noted authorities, the Institute will have the following round tables, each in charge of a well-known specialist in the particular field: The agricultural problem, women in public affairs, our Latin-American relations, municipal management, county and state government, political parties, the tax problem, the press,

economic and industrial development of the South, and arbitration of commercial disputes. The results of the meeting will be summarized in a later issue.

Birmingham's New City Commission.—Three years ago the present writer somewhat caustically handled the former commissioners of Birmingham in these columns.¹ This old commission virtually reached an impasse by reason of antagonisms resulting from mutual incomprehensibility.

In 1923, when I moved to the city, it was the most poorly paved, sewerred, and lighted municipality of a quarter of a million that I had seen. The carcasses of dogs and cats were left on the streets to be run over till worn out by passing vehicles. There were but three grade separations, two of them viaducts, and one a tunnel under one of the stations. Later another viaduct was completed.

The old commission, however, made some real improvements, despite its bickerings and unprofessional workmanship. Two elaborate high schools, one of them for colored children, a municipal auditorium and a municipal market were constructed, and traffic lights were installed.

Birmingham's experience with commission government is amusing. Passing from the old mayor and council type to a commission charter by special law, the system was later modified to a five-commissioner scheme, and then, four years ago, the legislature reversed itself and gave the city another three-commissioner charter. The members are paid better than the former commissioners. Three men, well seasoned in county and municipal administration, and not of the ordinary politician type, were elected. These commissioners, J. N. ("Jimmie") Jones, president, W. E. Dixon, and J. H. Taylor, have worked in harmony and if things go wrong squabbling cannot be held accountable.

When this commission entered office there was an operating deficit of \$213,000. Two years later they announced a surplus of \$201,000. Birmingham bonds are now sold at from 4.15 per cent to 4.25 per cent interest. Current bills are paid promptly each month and discounted.

The lighting system has been more than doubled. The city is operating two golf courses. Thoroughfares connecting the city with the suburbs have been extended. After thirty years of wrangling and many court battles with the rail-

¹ NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. XIV, pp. 661-663.

roads, a compromise has been effected and a four million dollar bond issue for track elevation has been submitted to referendum and passed by a large majority. The city and the roads share the expense fifty-fifty.

The extension of paving and sewage facilities has been really remarkable. When Commissioner Dixon and City Engineer A. J. Hawkins entered the former commission in 1922, Birmingham had but 136 miles of paved streets. In six years they have laid 197 miles of new pavement.

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Sacramento Creates Traffic and Safety Commission.—The city of Sacramento, California, has established by ordinance a commission on traffic and safety consisting of nine citizens to be appointed by the city council, with the mayor, city manager, city attorney and superintendent of traffic serving as ex-officio members. This commission is charged with the responsibility of investigating the traffic problem in Sacramento and with recommending rules and regulations for its control. The commission is further vested with authority to formulate and carry out a program of public education on accident prevention. The commission is responsible to the city council and is required to report annually to that body.



Traffic Regulation a Hazardous Occupation.—That the regulation of traffic is fraught with dangers to policemen is strikingly shown by a recent report of the chief deputy of the motor vehicle department of San Francisco, who stated that of the 247 traffic police on duty in that city, 91 were killed or crippled during the last fourteen months.



New York City Relaxes Zoning Regulations.—

Edward M. Bassett, zoning expert, has shown in a recent report that the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment during 1927 adopted more relaxing changes than strengthening changes in the zoning ordinance. This is the first year since 1920 that the action of the Board has resulted in a preponderance of changes which lessened the zoning requirements. The action of the Board is rather inconsistent with its announced policy during 1927 of seeking through every available means to prevent further street

congestion by lessening the number and extent of skyscraper districts. Many of the changes authorized by the Board permitted the erection of high buildings; at the same time the Mayor's Committee on Plan and Survey was recommending that skyscraper districts be reduced or restricted to the minimum.



Albion, Michigan, Abolishes City Manager Government.—Albion, Michigan, a town of 8,000 population, has reverted to the commission form of government after operating under city manager charter since 1918. This action was taken by referendum in which the commission plan won by thirty-three votes. Albion is thus the seventh city to discard a city manager charter after its adoption.



The Fifth World Motor Transport Congress will meet in Rome, September 25 to 29. The Congress will meet under the patronage of the King of Italy, and His Excellency Benito Mussolini will serve as honorary president. Official reports on the regulation of traffic will be given by representatives of Great Britain, Germany, France and the United States.



Cincinnati Moves Towards County Manager Government.—One of the issues to be settled at the primary election in August in Cincinnati will be indirectly the question of county manager government.

A contest is involved between the regular organization of the Republican party and a group known as the Citizens' Committee, headed by Captain Victor Heintz. The Citizens' Committee has pledged itself to two specific reforms. The first is the promise that, if placed in control of the Republican party in Hamilton County, it will not inject partisan issues into municipal elections in cities which have a charter calling for non-partisan elections. This amounts to a pledge of support to the present charter and city manager government in Cincinnati.

The second reform promised by the Citizens' Committee is to secure legislation permitting the county manager form of government in Hamilton County. Although a bonafide county manager plan cannot be adopted without legislative consent, existing statutes can be employed to bring about unified control and management of county affairs. The Citizens' Committee has promised

if successful in the primaries, to have the Board of County Commissioners employ a county clerk and engineer and to centralize in their hands the administrative and financial affairs of the county government.



Pan-American Congress of Municipalities Planned.—The sixth international conference of American states which met in Havana early this year recommended that the Pan-American Union should sponsor several conferences of a special or technical nature. The Union in a recent report has announced its plan to call a Pan-American Congress of Municipalities. The object of the congress is stated in the report of the Union as follows: "The Sixth International Conference of American States also recommended that a Pan-American Congress of Municipalities be held at Havana in 1931, and that through the Pan-American Union a preparatory meeting take place in Boston, Mass., in 1930, in connection with the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of that city. The governing board has already appointed a committee composed of the Minister of Costa Rica, the Minister of Haiti and the Chargé d'Affaires of Uruguay to study this subject in detail.

"Taking into consideration the growing interest in city improvement and municipal questions in general, which is being developed in the great urban centres of America at the present time, an interest which has been promoted in recent years by the series of Pan-American congresses on architecture, this conference promises to be one of the most profitable ever convened."

New York City Committee on Plan and Survey Issues Report.—The city committee on plan and survey, appointed by Mayor Walker nearly two years ago to formulate plans for the improvement of the city government, submitted its report on June 5. This report will be reviewed in this magazine in a later issue. The principal recommendations of the committee were as follows:

Creation of a permanent official city planning commission to work out a comprehensive plan for the future growth of New York.

Appointment of a special committee to investigate the necessity for a complete reorganization of the city government.

New sources of city revenue, including a gasoline tax, to meet the cost of the new subway system and other public improvements.

Spread of industries throughout the city to induce a more even distribution of population and to relieve the overcrowded tenement districts.

Elimination of the slums, improved housing conditions, and extension of the zoning regulations to provide more light and air for dwellings.

More parks in the outlying sections, especially Queens and Staten Island; more playgrounds in the congested districts.

Relief of traffic congestion by cutting new streets through downtown Manhattan, and establishing express highways and a great loop highway around all centres of congestion.

Better control of pedestrian traffic, more night deliveries of goods, and closer regulation of interurban buses and trucks.

A complete system of airports in different parts of the city.

Additional tunnels and bridges.

More efficient use of waterfront space, especially by industries needing both rail and water facilities.

Garbage incinerators in different parts of the city, to obviate dumping of refuse at sea and littering beaches.